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More Reportage on UN Security Council Session

Pakistani Violations Cited

LD2909221488 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 30 TASS—During the meeting of the foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council with U.N. secretary-general, which was held on Wednesday, Eduard Shevardnadze called the attention of its participants to the flagrant violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements on a political settlement around Afghanistan and said the consequences of such actions can be unpredictable, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a news conference at the U.N. Headquarters today. [sentence as received]

Besides, the Soviet side expressed dissatisfaction with the activities of the U.N. control mechanism in investigating the violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements. The point at issue is, first, violations and, second, the lack of the adequate control over these violations.

This problem has more scopeful consequences. Since if we fail to create a reliable and effective control mechanism in Afghanistan, which is a kind of a test ground, we will also encounter difficulties in creating mechanisms to monitor the settlement of other conflicts, the Soviet spokesman said. Therefore, the Soviet side proposed to U.N. secretary-general requesting a detailed report on the activity of the group of U.N. monitors and informing the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council about the conclusions of this report.

We warn for one more time the other side that the violations should be stopped, Gerasimov said at the news conference.

Shevardnadze warned the Pakistani side about this during yesterday's meeting with that country's Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan.

Pakistan's connivance with the formation by the "Alliance of the Seven" of the so-called interim government of Afghanistan in its territory, which intensifies unhindered its activity, became a gross violation of the agreements by that country. The so-called AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY which operates on behalf of the Afghan opposition groups was set up in Pakistan with the knowledge and connivance of the Pakistani authorities. The central headquarters of the "Alliance of the Seven" in Pakistani territory operates in its ordinary way.

Centres to train rebels and saboteurs, which are located in the area of the cities and and settlements of the North-Western Border Province: Peshawar, Mardan, Charsadda, Naushahra, Abbottabad, Malakand, Kohat, Parachinar, Miram Shah, Attock, Bannu, Dir, and in the area of the towns of Pishin, Chaman, Nushki and Quetta in Baluchistan Province have not been liquidated to this day and continue to operate.

Rebels are trained directly at facilities of the Pakistani Army and also in newly-created training centers and camps, specifically, near Quetta.

A large group of Afghan rebels—up to 900 people—undergoes training at the Pakistani Army base in the area of Zeha [placename as received], not far from the place where the borders of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan converge, under the guidance of instructors from the United States, China and Pakistan. Up to 2,500 rebels are trained at the center near Kalan Village, 20 kilometers from Islamabad.

Pakistan helps organise adviser assistance to the extremists. Foreign advisers coach rebels in the area of Dir, the populated locality of Karara [placename as received], the Afghan Province of Konarha, in the territory of Jadran Tribe, the Afghan Province of Paktia, and in the Afghan province of Lowgar and Kapisa.

A coordinating body to give aid to the Afghan rebels was set up within the framework of the General Staff of the Pakistani Armed Forces. It comprises top military men of the Pakistani Army. Representatives of the "Alliance of the Seven" take part in its sessions.

Pakistan keeps lending assistance in shipping to Afghanistan military hardware, ammunition and weapons destined for the opposition formations' fight against the lawful government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Initially, military cargoes are moved to the transhipment bases located in Teri-Mangal [placename as received], Miram Shah and Sedda [placename as received], and then are transported to Afghanistan. Anti-aircraft Stinger and Blowpipe missiles continue to be delivered to the rebels.

The Pakistani authorities also ignore those provisions of the Geneva Agreements, which concern a voluntary return of refugees. Pakistani secret services formed special groups to monitor the stay of refugees at places of their residence. Pakistani military units patrol refugee camps, barring people from returning home.

Besides these numerous and flagrant violations of the agreements by Pakistan, the underground attacks at the other side, which were made in the speech by the Pakistani minister and were at odds with the reality, also drew the bewilderment of the delegates of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

Reactions to Shevardnadze Speech

PM2909111288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev report: "United Nations: Keen Interest"]

[Text] New York—When George Shultz appeared on the platform that has been set up in one of the ballrooms of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, which has become for a few

days a kind of mobile headquarters for the White House and State Department, he was asked to comment on Eduard Shevardnadze's proposal to discuss at a meeting of the permanent members of the Security Council the question of the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and also to invite to the meeting representatives of the sides directly involved.

This was the answer: "Next Friday there will be a meeting of the foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the Security Council. We hope to discuss all kinds of issues there, including, no doubt, Afghanistan." And then, the fly in the ointment: We do not recognize the regime that is now in Kabul as the legitimate government of Afghanistan. Therefore we will not be prepared to go to a meeting. The head of the foreign policy department was referring to a meeting with the participation of representatives of the Afghan Government.

That was the first reaction to the Soviet minister's speech. Toward the end of the day, when the speech had been studied on a preliminary basis, I asked Charles Redman, a high-ranking State Department staffer, to share his impressions. Alas, there were no impressions. "At this stage, I have none," the State Department man said. "I know the secretary of state talked with your minister immediately after his speech, but I have had no opportunity to find out what impression the secretary of state formed."

Another question, then, I went on: Is there a reaction to the proposals about the Krasnoyarsk radar? No. Charles Redman preferred to refer me to statements already made on the subject of the radar, which, as he put it, he "would not want to duplicate now."

I will duplicate them for him. The crux of the statements made at the end of last week by a high-ranking State Department official in Washington amounted to saying that the radar station should be dismantled.

The only member of the American delegation from whom I obtained a response that could be called positive was Vernon Walters, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations. "It was a constructive speech," he said to us, a group of journalists. "The concern expressed on ecological problems is particularly attractive. The proposals put forward on this score are new and very interesting. We in the United States have been studying ecological problems for a long time. It is undoubtedly very important that the Soviet Union, whose territory is one-sixth of the planet, has also begun to tackle them. Let us work together."

What else attracted General Walters' attention? In Afghanistan, he said, "things are moving fairly well. It is in the interests of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, the United States, Pakistan, and India to find a solution to the problem. And I hope we will find a solution, despite the pitfalls along the road." The general did not elaborate.

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar described the Soviet minister's speech as "very important." Talking to a group of reporters, he said: "The speech contained many ideas. I particularly value the fact that the minister expressed support for the United Nations, whose mechanism, I am convinced, the Soviet Union would like to use to tackle the problems of all mankind. That made a tremendous impression on me. And I am very grateful to the USSR foreign minister for this extremely important speech."

I also had a brief interview with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. Her assessment of the speech? Positive. "It is interesting that the emphasis is on the need for active, broad international cooperation and on strengthening the role of the United Nations. We all have a common responsibility to the future. Hence the importance of pooling our efforts to tackle the problems facing mankind. It is very important that the Soviet minister spoke in such detail about environmental problems. On the whole it is a very constructive and remarkable speech." And arms control questions? "In this sphere," the Norwegian prime minsiter noted, "there are many positive developments, and we should congratulate the two great powers on the work they are doing."

Petrovskiy Meets Counterparts

PM2909120888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] New York, 28 Sep—A meeting took place in New York on 26 September between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy and [Japanese] Deputy Foreign Minister T. Kuriyama.

During the talk the Soviet side emphasized the need to multiply the coordinated efforts of members of the world community to ensure international security. Attention was focused on the Soviet Union's important new initiatives set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk. The Japanese side gave a positive assessment of these initiatives.

Mutual commitment to deepening political dialogue between the USSR and Japan was expressed.

The following day, the USSR deputy foreign minister met with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar. During the talk they discussed ways of increasing the effectiveness of the work of the United Nations, first and foremost in the cause of settling international conflicts.

On the same day there was a talk with the head of the SRV delegation to the 43d UN General Assembly session, Deputy Foreign Minister Trang Quang Co.

Comparison of Foreign Ministers' UN Meeting

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 30 September carries in its Morning Edition on page 4 a 29 September TASS New York dispatch on the 28 September meeting between UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and the foreign ministers of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. The IZVESTIYA report, under the heading "Statement Adopted", has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version entitled "Security Council Ministers Meets Perez de Cuellar", which was published in the 29 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 9, revealing the following variations:

Column two, second line from the top reads in IZVESTIYA: "...with satisfaction the marked progress in international relations..." (subbing "progress" for "improvement")

Same paragraph, penultimate line reads in IZVESTIYA: "...to work together to further develop these positive trends.

"The ministers welcomed..." (rewording)

Paragraph one, last line reads in IZVESTIYA: "...Security Council Resolution 598.

"The secretary general briefed the ministers on his recent efforts to consolidate the cease-fire in all aspects and to achieve a settlement in accordance with this resolution.

"The ministers reiterated..." (supplying additional paragraph)

Paragraph two, line seven reads in IZVESTIYA: "They emphasized the urgent need for substantive and..." (supplying "urgent")

Paragraph three, line two reads in IZVESTIYA: "...which they considered exceptionally useful." (IZVESTIYA version ends, subbing "exceptionally" for "most" and omitting final two paragraphs)

More on Perfilyev Denying Japanese Island Talks

PM2909121088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement"]

[Text] At the latest USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center briefing, V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Administration, stated:

Reports have appeared recently in the Japanese press to the effect that "Soviet Government sources, in the course of contacts with high-ranking figures of the Japanese Government in Paris in early September this year, explored the possibility of granting the Japanese Government lease rights to four northern islands, as well as Sakhalin Island, and creating a special economic zone in the Vladivostok region on the basis of joint enterprise." These reports, which are presented as signs of a change in the Soviet Union's position on the so-called territorial question, were taken up by the mass media in other countries, in particular the United States and Britain.

In this connection I would like to state that the aforementioned reports have no basis. There have been no contacts between Soviet and Japanese representatives to discuss "territorial" issues either in Paris or anywhere else. The Soviet Union's principled position with regard to Japan's claims to a part of Soviet territory remains as set forth in official Soviet statements.

In general, on studying the aforementioned reports, it is hard to escape the impression that someone is very keen first of all to set up windmills, and then to tilt at them.

Perfilyev Foreign Ministry News Briefing 29 Sep

Mujahidin 'Government' Violations

LD2909145388 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today described as a gross violation of the Geneva agreements the presence of a mujahidin "government" in Pakistani territory, which is openly directing armed struggle against the lawful government of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said one has to state that Islamabad is acting as if it hadn't voluntarily made the commitment not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Commenting on an AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE report from Islamabad that the mujahidin "government" has asked the United Nations to recognize it as "the sole lawful representative" of the Afghan people, Perfilyev said the request is illegitimate.

"Since being proclaimed that 'government' hasn't been able to win the official recognition of even its friends and patrons," he noted.

The spokesman said crimes by Afghan extremists keep taking a toll in innocent human lives and pointed, as an example, to a rocket attack on Kabul Tuesday, which has left 35 people dead and 163 injured. It is from Pakistan that arms convoys keep arriving in Afghanistan.

"The Pakistani Administration as yet has been stubbornly reluctant to heed the voice of reason and been actively hampering the development of the peace process in Afghanistan and around it contrary to the Geneva agreements it has signed," Perfilyev continued.

"The Soviet Union has the means to put everything in its place," the Foreign Ministry spokesman added.

He said it is believed in the USSR that the appointment of American diplomat Edmund McWilliams as special U.S. representative to the leadership of the "Alliance of the Seven" in Peshawar is in no way instrumental in normalizing the situation concerning Afghanistan.

Namibia, Angolan Talks

LD2909145888 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—U.N. Security Council Resolution 435, which defines the procedure for granting independence to Namibia, remains to this day the sole generally recognized international-legal foundation for actions in this direction, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing today.

However, the tenth anniversary of this resolution, which was adopted on September 29, 1978, is the pretext for determining the causes obstructing the solution of this problem and for trying to remove them by joint efforts of all parties concerned rather than for solemn ceremonies. The Soviet Union, which is loyal to its course of defusing conflict situations by political means and creating a comprehensive system of international security, will take an active and direct part in this undertaking.

"In the south of Africa we do not look for ourselves either a special status, privileges, nor include this region in the sphere of our vital interests", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out. "The Soviet Union does not intend either to undermine the economic, cultural and other ties among the countries of the region, which had been historically formed. What is all-important is to get the restoration of the situation of peace, stable and mutually beneficial cooperation in the region, to contribute toward a settlement that would be in the interests of the Africans themselves".

Touching furthermore on the negotiations that are conducted between Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa with the United States' mediation, Perfilyev said that only several questions, which lend themselves to settlement on a compromise basis, remain to be unresolved. [sentence as received] The fact that the Soviet representative joined this process in the capacity of an unofficial observer deserves a positive assessment, as the participants in the talks themselves note.

"The Soviet Union confirms its readiness to act with other U.N. Security Council members in the role of a guarantor of settlement", Perfilyev stressed.

Roundup of Briefing

LD2909153488 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 29 Sep 8

["Briefing at USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center—Summary"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—"The forthcoming meeting of the heads of Central American states in the capital of El Salvador is viewed in the Soviet Union as fresh evidence of the determination of all Latin Americans to defuse the conflict situation in the region and help bring lasting peace there," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said today.

The top item on the agenda of the meeting is the implementation of the Guatemalan peace agreements which are aimed at settling the Central American crisis by political means. The parties likewise intend to attend the issue of resuming the operation of the international commission to monitor the fulfillment of the Guatemala agreement.

Perfilyev described as "on the whole positive" the state of bilateral ties with Ireland in conjunction with the 15th anniversary of the signing of the joint communique on the exchange of diplomatic missions, which is marked today.

"Among the assets in relations between the USSR and Ireland are mutually beneficial trade, contacts in the field of culture. At the same time, the potential of bilateral relations is used far from fully. We hold that new meaningful steps can be taken from both sides to bring Soviet-Irish relations to the level and volume which befit them. We are prepared for this joint work".

Perfilyev said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry received a request for extending to three months the stay of the group of Israeli diplomats in Moscow. This request is under consideration now.

Lorenzo Minolli, president of the Italian information firm Imago, spoke to journalists at the end of the briefing. He said that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Imago concluded a treaty Wednesday on making a six-part film about Soviet militia. Together with the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet Peace Fund the firm conducts preparations for a motor race to be called "Peace Caravan" that will run across the three continents.

Third World Aid Policy Needs 'Rethink'

PM2909121188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 14

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Aleksey Kupriyanov: "The Close and the Distant 'Third World'"]

[Excerpts] "Young countries," "underdeveloped countries," "the Third World," "liberated countries," "developing countries"—what name do we not use to

refer to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, of which there are now more than 120. Our country maintains trade and economic relations with most of them. These relations in many respects determine our prestige and position in the world economy. [passage omitted]

People tend to believe that our scientific and technical assistance to the "Third World," above all in the construction of industrial projects, amounts to pure aid—that is, putting it simply, that we are "depriving ourselves" to give to "them" without any sort of compensation. This is wrong. What really does happen? Some 2,200 projects have been built or are under construction, with the Soviet people's assistance and with Soviet credits—true, often advantageous credits, but nonetheless credits which are returnable, which have to be repaid in accordance with agreements. As repayment we receive from the developing countries dependable supplies of bauxites, phosphorites, manganese, tungsten, tin, cobalt, zinc, molybdenum, rubber, essential types of cotton, and many other things. It is this approach which has, for decades, enabled us to increase our trade turnover with these countries and to bring it up to 11 percent—the "Third World's" current share in the USSR trade turnover. Is this a lot? Not really. The figure is close to the volume of our turnover with the GDR—a solid trade partner. Nonetheless, the GDR is just one of our partners (whereas, allow me to remind you, there are more than 100 developing countries).

And vice versa, the USSR's share in the developing countries' foreign trade totals less than 4 percent. Why? It is well known that a qualitative characteristic of present-day international trade is the share of machine building output in this trade (it accounts for approximately one-third). The share of machine building output in Soviet exports to developing countries accounts for around 20 percent and has not risen for years. At the same time, these countries themselves are constantly increasing their exports of these goods. In money terms they now total $47.2 billion annually, or 9 percent of the world trade in machinery.

The weakness of Soviet machine building exports is an old and painful problem. It stems from the low quality of our goods, the predilection of our organizations for so-called comprehensive deliveries (which are currently not in demand among our partners), and the unsuitability of our machinery for operation in specific climatic conditions. We have known for a long time that mosquitoes have a weakness for our lubricants and insulation materials, which they can destroy in a single night, yet we seem to be unable finally to resolve this problem. Nor have we been able to overcome the shortage of spare parts for our equipment which, if it is to operate reliably, needs the tender care of our experts. However, if we offer the assistance of our experts, this frequently leads to additional difficulties. People say to us: We would not mind buying your tractor or machine tool, but as for Soviet personnel—no, thank you very much! Thus we lose potential market partners.

It is very alarming that the growth of the volume of scientific and technical assistance has come to a standstill in recent years, and that the structure of this assistance has remained the same for decades. It took shape at the dawn of our cooperation and is based, as in the past, on metallurgy and the power industry. By the beginning of 1987 enterprises with a capacity to produce 17 million tonnes of steel, refine 20 million tonnes of petroleum, and generate 15 million kw of electricity per annum had been commissioned. All this is laudable. However, something else is also obvious. What was good yesterday may not be suitable today, much less tomorrow.

Attempts to preserve the old structure have already resulted in a reduction of cooperation. The developing countries' economic situation today is such that we cannot expect to hold on to, let alone expand, the volume of assistance in the traditional sectors. The major cooperation projects which we have been building until recently require huge capital investments from the partners too, and it takes a long time to recoup such expediture.

The "Third World" countries' national strategy today is aimed primarily at resolving problems in agriculture and its servicing industries and building medium- and small-sized enterprises which promise a quick return on invested capital. We have proved unready for this change. Our organizations tend to cling to "high-profile" construction projects and keep Soviet experts "thick on the ground" (so as to be able to have a local trade union committee and a social club). They are opposed to the dispersal of workers in African and Asian cities and villages.

As a result it has often happened that when developing countries took over a major "turn-key" project from us they were unable to attain its rated capacity for many years—which reduced its effectiveness and ultimately also the mutual advantage. We cannot meet requests for the construction of medium- and small-sized machine building enterprises, which are currently in demand, because we lack standard designs and experience in this field. Moreover, in dealing with these questions we have for many years followed the by no means uncontroversial approach of the UN technical assistance agencies expressed in the formula "no move without request." And we have been asked to do all kinds of things. Remember the huge stadium in Jakarta which, as it later turned out, no one needed. Or the creation of airlines when the partner-countries had neither pilots, nor aircraft, nor money to acquire them.

Having built a major enterprise and several allied enterprises, or simply auxiliary facilities, we are in a hurry to call it a complex even if, in reality, it does not deserve

this title. A complex is a much more complicated concept than our journalists might think and to build a complex (which was conceived as such) is very difficult, although, on the other hand, it does make possible optimum production conditions and consequently also highly effective cooperation.

Our former negative approach to cooperation with the private and individual sector in developing countries also needs to be reviewed. This is a matter for actual producers in the USSR themselves who, freed from the administrative-command methods of management, are taking more and more vigorous steps to develop their exports.

Unquestionably, it is also necessary to enhance the role of agriculture in the structure of our cooperation. Its share in the total volume—11 percent—cannot be regarded as normal, especially since half of this is accounted for by irrigation work.

The question may arise: Is the author suggesting that we should build small plants instead of big ones, supply agricultural implements instead of power stations, and import knitwear instead of the raw materials which we need, and so forth? This would not suit us, people may say, and the volume of contacts will continue to shrink beyond recovery. Allow me to clarify: First, growth figures alone are not the be all and end all; and second, there is no need to exaggerate. Let us not forget that the sharp rise in our turnover with the developing countries dates back to the period of the extensive development of relations, when every year new states were entering into the orbit of cooperation. This resource has now been exhausted.

Nor is it being suggested that we should stop importing raw materials. However, to an increasing degree the basis for mutually advantageous cooperation in the future will consist of engineering and technical products. This applies primarily to our exports, but also to our imports of goods which cannot be produced in our climatic conditions or whose production is not economically justifiable. A promising sphere in the expansion of imports [as published] are services rendered in the study of natural resources—prospecting for minerals, rational use of nature, enhancement of soil fertility, measures to prevent the degradation of the natural environment, and so forth. Let us recall that in this sphere Russian scientists and explorers have accumulated unique knowledge, especially as regards the nature of tropical countries.

This kind of assistance may not drastically increase the volume of cooperation, but nor does it require major investments, and the returns, I dare claim, will be great.

There are many problems, aren't there? Yes, very many. This is because they have accumulated over decades. It is necessary to change the structure of the assistance provided, the forms and methods of work, the appraisal of the effectiveness of that work, and the conditions governing our experts' duty tours abroad.

It is necessary to profoundly rethink the concept of relations with the entire "Third World," with individual countries, groups of countries, and whole geographical regions. It is necessary also to coordinate our efforts with the other socialist countries, primarily via CEMA. Without this the practice based on short-term, "stopgap" solutions aimed at overcoming the most acute shortages will continue, inevitably resulting in a reduction of the mutual advantage and stability of relations. Practice will reveal which forms of cooperation—joint enterprises, compensation agreements, consortia, free zones, and so forth—will prove most popular.

Briefs

Border Tourism Exchange Simplified

Residents of Blagoveshchensk have received envoys from the Chinese town Aihui, who have arrived here as tourists. At the same time, a group from Blagoveshchensk has set off for Aihui via the Amur. With these visits a new international tourist route linking the border towns of the USSR and China has opened. As a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, border tourism is a new form of contact between Soviet people and the inhabitants of neighboring countries. Exchanges have already been arranged between regions on the border in Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the RSFSR, and towns in Poland, CSSR, Hungary, and Finland. The local offices of Intourist have obtained the right here to receive foreign guests independently, and send abroad their own tourist groups using the hard currency they earn in this way. This has become possible thanks to a radical simplification in the documentation. It is enough to give one's address, passport number, and place of work, and to secure the consent of the manager of the enterprise or institution and the travel pass abroad is organized. This form of border exchanges will be extended to other regions in our country too. [Text] [*LD2909025188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Sep 88*]

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Dukakis Meet in New York

PM3009101588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings in New York"]

[Text] New York, 29 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has met here with Governor of Massachusetts M. Dukakis, the Democratic Party candidate for the post of U.S. president. They were acquainted and a committed talk took place on the present state and development prospects of Soviet-U.S. relations and on topical aspects of the international situation.

The interlocutors agreed that now and in the future Soviet-U.S. relations retain central importance for all mankind. The positive trends in their development are being welcomed everywhere now.

E.A. Shevardnadze told M. Dukakis of the great changes in our country, where a peaceful revolution to reshape it is taking place. We are dissatisfied with our people's present living standard. Both sides bear enormous and unjustified arms expenditure. We suggest setting up real cooperation in the field of disarmament or, to be more precise, for the time being in the reduction of arms to a level of reasonable sufficiency. The U.S. interlocutor expressed himself in favor of concern for people. We are also concerned and can find together the sources for the necessary funds by reducing arms.

We must rid ourselves of the stone-age premise that the worse things are for the other side the better for me. We must seek the broadest possible cooperation, especially as the world is faced with many global problems, in particular environmental conservation.

During the talk questions of Soviet-U.S. exchanges and cooperation and human rights issues were touched on.

M. Dukakis stressed that he believes constructive collaboration between the USSR and the United States to be important in reducing the threat of war, achieving specific accords in the nuclear disarmament field, and resolving a number of regional problems. He spoke of the need to preserve continuity and consistency in relations between the two countries.

Shevardnadze, Dukakis Comment

LD2909201188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze had a meeting in New York with the U.S. Democratic presidential candidate, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. Like last week's exchange of views in Washington with the Republican candidate, U.S. Vice President George Bush, the meeting in New York has aroused enormous interest among the U.S. media. After a conversation lasting more than an hour, Michael Dukakis and Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze made brief statements to the press.

[Begin recording] [Dukakis in English with superimposed Russian translation] We discussed a wide range of issues, including arms control, human rights, and regional and bilateral problems. I told Mr Shevardnadze that as president of the United States, I intend to consolidate the work begun by President Reagan, and that consistency and continuity in Soviet-U.S. relations are needed now more than ever. We should move forward, and not remain on the defensive, if we are to consolidate what has been achieved. This has been a fruitful meeting, and I look forward to others if, as I hope, I am elected president of the United States

[Shevardnadze interpreter in English] This was a very interesting and constructive and a profound [word indistinct]. It was conducted in a good atmosphere.

[Shevardnadze] I would single out one aspect, perhaps the main one (?of my talk) with the governor: He expressed himself in the spirit of support for continuity and consistency in policy, having in mind the latest positive trends [words indistinct]. [end recording] [video shows Dukakis and Shevardnadze speaking to press]

Soviet-U.S. Meeting on Information Exchange Held

PM2909142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Maslennikov and V. Ovchinnikov: "To Know More About Each Other"]

[Text] The more the Soviet and U.S. peoples know about each other, the easier they will find it to reach mutual understanding, overcome the false stereotypes of the past, make the shift from confrontation to cooperation, and feel themselves not enemies but partners. The broadening of information exchanges is an inalienable constituent part of the overall process of smoothing relations between the USSR and the United States and imparting a stable, predictable nature to them.

A Soviet-U.S. meeting on information exchanges held in Moscow 26-28 September was devoted to elaborating specific measures to help the two countries' peoples to get more closely acquainted. As at the previous similar meeting in Washington, the Soviet delegation was headed by Valentin Falin, chairman of the board of APN, and the U.S. delegation by USIA Director Charles Wick.

A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the meeting participants at the concluding session. He described the

meeting as a symbol of the changes for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations and as embodying the determination of the two states and peoples to build an edifice of cooperation and trust and to ensure that the mechanism of counteraction that has taken shape in bilateral relations over the years of the "cold war" gives way to the mechanism of interaction.

In addition to plenary sessions, the debate also took place in sections. More than 150 meeting participants divided up into groups which separately discussed interstate aspects of information ties and questions of exchanges in the spheres of culture and art, television and radio, cinematography and book publishing, and the periodical press.

The debate in the section on exchanges in the press sphere, in which the authors of these lines participated, was also of a businesslike and constructive nature. Agreement was registered to the effect that the broadening of truthful information by means of journalists' reciprocal visits, exchanges of articles, and the dissemination of newspapers, magazines, and other printed matter can make a substantial contribution to deepening mutual understanding and broadening mutually advantageous cooperation.

Taking into account the differences between the two countries' state systems and their inherent social, economic, financial, administrative, and other features, the participants in the debate drew up a number of specific recommendations. They advocated giving journalists easier access to all sections of Soviet and U.S. society and improving conditions for them to be accredited, to move around, and to obtain information. The debate's participants advocated exchanging commentaries by Soviet and U.S. newspaper observers on important events of international life concerning the USSR and the United States, holding regular seminars of journalists on problems of internal life and foreign policy of mutual interest, and encouraging direct ties between newspapers, magazines, and news agencies, on the basis of which it would be possible to organize special-purpose reciprocal visits for journalists.

The U.S. participants in the meeting showed an immeasurably increased interest in the processes of renewal taking place in Soviet society. One of them said that over the past few years the USSR has traveled a path measured in light years. At the same time, the debate showed that certain of our partners would like to take advantage of democratization and glasnost in the USSR to derive one-sided advantages from these processes.

But, on the whole, the meeting was dominated by the desire to abandon the obsolete "image of the enemy" and to divert information exchanges into a healthy channel.

Further Press Report

PM3009115988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Trust Is Mutual"]

[Text] The important role of the mass media in developing bilateral contacts was noted by participants in the Soviet-U.S. meeting on information exchange in Moscow which ended 28 September.

The final plenary session was addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

On the same day there was a news conference by leaders and representatives of the USSR and U.S. mass media participating in the meeting. They summarized the results of the work of the sections, which for 3 days discussed interstate questions as well as exchanges in the sphere of culture and art, radio and television, cinema and the press, publications and the distribution of books

V.M. Falin, chairman of the board of APN, noted the intensity of the sessions and the two sides' constructive approach to various questions. We did our utmost to build an edifice of mutual trust, he said. And our main accord was on avoiding actions which disinform public opinion. If mistakes occur they must be quickly remedied and eliminated.

The speaker emphasized the efforts made by the participants in the meeting toward the futher bilateral expansion of information. The objective conditions for that have now materialised.

USIA Director C. Wick stressed that the meeting did not manage to discuss all questions of information exchange, despite the intensive work done there. Nevertheless, the U.S. side is satisfied with its results. This applies in particular to the sphere of book exchanges: Book exhibitions have been held in Washington and Novosibirsk and a U.S. book exhibition and sale center has been opened in Moscow. The United States intends to publish Soviet textbooks for U.S. schools.

The guest deemed the accords on the creation of conditions more favorable to the work of Soviet journalists in the United States and of U.S. journalists in the USSR to be an important achievement. It is planned, for example, to lift the restrictions on correspondents' access to specialists and their movement around the territories of the two countries. The accreditation of a Voice of America correspondent in Moscow is an unprecedented and inspiring example of mutual understanding.

USIA's Wick Briefs Press

LD2909223788 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Leningrad September 30 TASS—It is necessary that information contacts be developed to overcome mutual misunderstanding which was typical of Soviet-American relations in the past, Charles Wick, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), said at a news conference here.

In his view, the enemy image, that existed in both countries only recently, was cultivated given the two peoples' poor knowledge of each other. Our mission, he said, is to spread information that promotes better mutual understanding. Since the signing of the agreement on cultural exchanges in Geneva in 1985, contacts between the two countries have been undoubtedly expanding. We succeeded in solving many problems in this field also over the three days of a Soviet-American meeting on information exchanges that has just ended in Moscow, Wick stressed. The USIA director headed the delegation of U.S. mass media executives and arrived in Leningrad to present an exhibition, Information Science in Life in the United States, which was organized there.

The USIA director stressed that the new political thinking has been asserting itself ever more vigorously on the international scene. One of the reasons behind this is the realization by the growing number of people that a nuclear war will be the last in mankind's history and, therefore, the funds spent on the arms race make no sense and only hamper the development of culture, education and other social spheres. Both the USSR and the United States would benefit from more friendly relations between them, he said.

Kornilov Comments on Results

LD2909170588 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The results of a Soviet-American meeting on information exchanges that came to a close here yesterday are regarded in Moscow as a symbol of further changing for the better of the relations between the two countries. Addressing the meeting, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that it was creative by nature because its purpose was to build the edifice of cooperation and trust.

There is every reason to assess the meeting in this way. Both at plenary meetings and at workshops participants in the meeting actively came out for working out measures and recommendations aimed at promoting the deepening of mutual understanding and the expansion of Soviet-American cooperation. For instance, participants in the workshop on exchanges in the sphere of the press emphatically called for facilitating the access of journalists to all the sections of Soviet and American societies, for improving the conditions of their accreditation, movement and the obtaining of information. Participants in the discussion, including the author of this commentary, spoke out in favour of organizing a broad exchange of commentaries of the observers of Soviet and American newspapers on the key developments in the international arena affecting the USSR and the U.S., of holding regular seminars of journalists on domestic and foreign problems which are of interest for journalists of both countries, of encouraging direct ties between newspapers, journals and news agencies on the basis of which it would be possible to organize purpose-oriented trips for journalists of both countries.

Contacts are expanding and strengthening in another important sphere, specifically, book-publishing. The sides agreed to exchange book displays, libraries of children's books and specialists, to render assistance to each other in organizing television hook-ups on separate subjects and so on. Programs of the development of cooperation in film-making, culture, art, television and radio were also drawn up.

Much has been done at the meeting. And still I, as well as, I think, other participants in the meeting believe that its main accomplishment is not concrete understandings and agreements, although it is undoubtedly important in itself. What is really important is that participants in the meeting held discussions from the beginning and to the end mostly in a truly constructive and businesslike atmosphere, that they managed to give up the confrontation phraseology which had been widely used for many years, that they displayed their desire, intention and ability to patiently quest for and find out mutually acceptable solutions to a wide range of various, including really difficult problems. The meeting confirmed once again that if partners sincerely want to achieve success, they will achieve it. Both Moscow and Washington come to realize more and more clearly that we have no more time to waste on finding fault with each other, on mutual accusations and reproaches.

Naturally, all this does not mean that all the existing complicated problems have been resolved. Old approaches and notions still make themselves felt, and there is nothing strange about it. A sort of a "mechanism of counteraction", including in the sphere of information, formed in our relations in many decades. Its component parts are very well adjusted to each other, especially in political and psychological orientations. We are tuned to a definite wave of expectations, statements, mutual assessments and so on. All this must be given up. We need a mechanism of constructive interaction between our two countries which is to replace the first one after a while. This presupposes, among other things, well-reasoned critical attitude to the cliches and notions that have become habitual.

Upon the end of the meeting Jack Foust Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, held a reception for its participants. Those who were present at the reception were given the book "Moscow Summit Meeting", an excellent publication of the embassy. I leafed through the book and I should like to quote in this commentary two of the statements included in it that had been made by the leaders of our two countries during the summit. Mikhail Gorbachev said that we must learn a difficult art of not only existing side by side, but also of building the bridges of mutually advantageous cooperation. Ronald Reagan said we had made the first step in the creation of a system of mutual understanding and personal contacts between our societies and people which is so necessary for removing false and dangerous notions and stereotypes.

Let us hope that a deeply positive, although sometimes difficult process of the consolidation of mutual understansing and the development of Soviet-American cooperation, including in the sphere of information, will be continued.

Space Shuttle 'Discovery' Launches Satellite
LD3009100888 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 30 TASS—On Thursday the Discovery crew put into orbit a satellite of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). TASS correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev learnt about this at the Lyndon Johnson Space Flight Centre in Houston, Texas.

The biggest satellite worth some 100 million dollars which is outfitted with sophisticated equipment, notes the UPI agency, will start functioning after a two-month test of serviceability of its systems. It is designed for ensuring virtually non-stop communications between future shuttle flights, other orbiting satellites and ground tracking stations. After it starts operation, NASA will close six costly ground tracking stations in various parts of the world. These satellites play a very important role both in ensuring shuttle space flights under the Pentagon's programmes and in controlling intelligence-gathering spacecraft, points out UPI.

The flight plan provides for 11 science and technology experiments before the Discovery spaceship will land on October 3, as scheduled.

U.S. 'Differences' With Allies Over Bases
PM2909174988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Pustov "Military-Political Commentary": "Pentagon Dissatisfied..."]

[Text] Speaking at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, M. Woerner, secretary general of the bloc, admitted that there are differences between the United States and its European allies and they are even accumulating. For example, Washington reproaches them for spending 3.5 percent of GNP on military purposes, while the United States spends 6.5 percent. People across the Atlantic are also dissatisfied with the intractability of a number of partners regarding other questions. Thus U.S. talks with a number of southern European countries on renewing or concluding new bilateral military agreements are proceeding with extreme difficulty.

The desire to compensate for the incipient reduction in nuclear arms is the basis of the unceasing and even increasing activity of the Pentagon and NATO strategists in southern Europe and in the Mediterranean. They see an opportunity for such compensation particularly in strengthening the U.S.-NATO network of bases in other countries. But their plans are running up against resistance from the peoples and even the governments of these countries. "The planned reduction of nuclear missiles in Europe," U.S. Congressman Lee Hamilton states, not without irritation, "is increasing the strategic importance of air force and naval bases in southern Europe precisely at a time when increasing political pressure is being applied on these facilities... Now the host countries are increasingly objecting to U.S. military activity on their territories."

As is well known, Spain secured from the United States a pledge to remove 72 F-16 fighter-bombers from the Torrejon de Ardoz base within 3 years. By the way, the Italian Government has agreed to take them. It was announced not so long ago in Madrid that a treaty permitting the use of the remaining U.S. bases on Spanish soil may be signed toward the end of September. Then the date was put off till October. A few days ago Foreign Minister F. Ordonez promised that the new agreement between Spain and the United States would be signed before the end of the current year.

Madrid stresses that Spain is pressing for the inclusion in the new treaty of a condition banning nuclear weapons from being brought onto its territory. As is well known, the Pentagon refuses to make this promise, preferring to keep the world in ignorance in this respect. Naturally, this is giving rise to justified alarm everywhere. As E.A. Shevardnadze stated at the 43d UN General Assembly session, "we are resolutely opposed to the anomaly of military bases and foreign military presence on other countries' territories and the violation of national sovereignty by the undeclared import and transit of nuclear weapons in other countries' seaports."

The Greek-U.S. talks are taking place in an even more strained atmosphere. A. Papandreou's government decided to close the U.S. Hellenikon base, which is intended to conduct air reconnaissance and provide support for the U.S. Air Force in the region. The Pentagon is also having to take into account the fact that the agreement with Greece "on cooperation in the sphere of the economy and defense" runs out at the end of this

year. If a new agreement is not concluded by then, so Athens has warned, the United States will have 17 months to withdraw its military facilities from Greece.

Nine rounds of talks have already been held. The 10th will start very soon. But it is still difficult to judge whether the two sides will succeed in eliminating the differences in their approach to the new treaty. Let us recall that, for example, an interview with Pentagon chief F. Carlucci in a Turkish newspaper caused great resentment among the Greek Government. He stated that the United States is not going to give Greece any guarantees regarding support for its national interests during the talks on bases. But the Greeks consider this to be the key question in the talks with the United States.

The Soviet Union, for which the situation in the Mediterranean is very significant, has repeatedly put forward proposals to reduce military potentials in this region, and in particular, to withdraw Soviet and U.S. navies from the Mediterranean. But there has been no positive response from Washington either to these initiatives or to our subsequent proposals, for example, to freeze from 1 July the number of ships and the potential of both countries' naval forces there. Washington's obstructionist position is one reason why the Mediterranean remains an explosive region of the world.

Soviet, U.S. Arms Negotiators Receive Award

PM2809154388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Presentation of Awards"]

[Text] New York, 27 Sep—A festive ceremony was held in the New York University School of Law to present the Ueyll [name as published] Medal to Soviet and U.S. participants in the talks on nuclear and space arms (on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles). This prestigious U.S. prize is awarded in recognition of most outstanding achievements in the sphere of solving international problems with the help of diplomacy on the basis of international law.

On the Soviet side, the award is awarded to V.P. Karpov, former head of the USSR delegation to the talks on nuclear and space arms, USSR representative on the group on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament Administration, and A.A. Obukhov, leader of the USSR delegation to the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms. On the U.S. side—to M. Glitman, former leader of the U.S. delegation to the talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. group at the talks on nuclear and space arms.

China

PRC Ministry Spokesman Views Possible Summit

LD2909125388 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 29 TASS—Speaking at today's briefing in Beijing, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the forthcoming exchange of visits of the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers would be a step towards a Soviet-Chinese summit.

He expressed the hope that both sides would work in this direction.

Shevardnadze Meets With Qian Qichen in New York

PM3009104188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings in New York"]

[Text] On the morning of 28 September (Shevardnadze) had a meeting with Qian Qichen, member of the CPC Central Committee and PRC foreign minister.

Relations between our countries are in the ascendant. Noting this with satisfaction, the ministers voiced the intention to continue to make headway here. On the Soviet side conceptual views of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations have been voiced in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. They create a favorable platform for future progress.

The improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years and the summit meetings have had beneficial influence on the formation of the international climate. It would be very important for the consolidation of positive trends in the world to develop Soviet-Chinese relations as well. Both ministers concurred with this conclusion. It was agreed that Comrade Qian Qichen will visit Moscow before the end of this year, where the talk will be continued.

During the meeting considerable attention was paid to questions connected with unblocking the conflict situation around Cambodia. The sides intend to promote the process of the settlement of the external aspects of the Cambodian problem on the understanding that its domestic aspects will be resolved by the Cambodians themselves. It has been decided to continue the discussion of the problem at the level of experts, deputy ministers, and ministers.

China Court Urges Battle Against Economic Crime

PM2909104588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Economic Crimes"]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Sep—The PRC Supreme People's Court has demanded that all local organs of justice "sternly and resolutely punish persons guilty of economic crimes and give a timely hearing to cases involving criminal offenses in the economic sphere."

Recently, the memorandum published today stresses, "economic crime has continued to be rampant" in the country. Speculative activity is particularly widespread and involves cadre personnel, which "seriously undermines the normal economic situation and economic order, hampers the successful progress of the reform and construction, and prompts harsh protests from the people's masses." In combating economic crime, the document says, the main emphasis should be placed on ending the practice whereby enterprises, institutions, and departments resell means of production that are in short supply, and criminal proceedings should unfailingly be instituted against those directly guilty of illegal actions.

Soviet-Chinese Trade Fair Opens in Dushambe

OW2909115188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] A Soviet-Chinese trade fair has opened in Dushambe, capital of Tajik SSR. Displayed at the fair are garments, footwear, cosmetics, radio equipment, electrical appliances, and other consumer goods. The fair is aimed at expanding trade between China and the Tajik SSR.

A delegation composed of leaders from industrial and foreign trade companies of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has also arrived in Tajik SSR to assist in preparations for the fair.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further Reportage on Visit by Lao Prime Minister

Deputy Foreign Ministers Meet

PM2909141088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 28 September USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.M. Nikiforov met with Lao First Deputy Foreign Minister Thangsavat Khaikhamphithoun.

During the talk there was an exchange of opinions on certain topical international problems, as well as questions of improving the structure and cadre policy of the foreign policy departments of the USSR and Laos.

Kaysone Phomvihan Interviewed

LD2909210488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] A working visit to our country by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers, has ended. Our correspondent Stanislav Blazhenkov asked Comrade Phomvihan to speak about the way the process of renewal in Laos is proceeding and about the prospects for the further development of cooperation between Laos, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries.

The process of renewal in our country, said Kaysone Phomvihan, originated in 1985. The Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party in 1986 worked out a policy aimed at all-round changes. Their base is the Leninist ideas of the New Economic Policy, in conformity with the Lao conditions, which are in keeping with the new thinking under the real socioeconomic conditions of the country. Proceeding from the practical experience of the past 2 years, the fifth and sixth plenums of the Central Committee gave concrete form to this political line and defined three basic problems: the policy with regard to the economic structure, the restructuring of the economic mechanism, and the raising of the efficiency of organizational and executive activity. Our objective is to provide a stimulus for the development of the forces of production and to ensure gradual transfer from the economy in kind to the socialist commodity production. In distributing the land in a proportional way and in keeping with the law, it is necessary to move to lease contracting to peasant families; in other words, make them real masters of the land, noted Comrade Phomvihan.

In starting the restructuring of the economic mechanism it is necessary to eliminate the old administrative-bureaucratic state subsidy economic mechanism and to move up to the level of financial-autonomy socialist economic mechanism, Kaysone Phomvihan went on to say.

It is necessary to skillfully combine the interests of the society, labor collectives, and all working people and to utilize in a complex way economic levers of management.

Speaking about Soviet-Lao cooperation Kaysone Phomvihan stressed that the meetings and discussions with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, which passed in a warm, comradely, and frank atmosphere, gave him a clear understanding of the tasks and the experience of restructuring in the Soviet Union. This is very useful for us at the present time, when the process of renewal is under way in the republic. The two sides noted in the course of the talks the necessity of restructuring of economic relations with the aim of raising their efficiency. We shall be expanding economic cooperation in various forms with the Soviet Union and

other socialist countries. We shall be building turn-key projects, setting up joint enterprises, and developing direct contacts between enterprises and organizations.

In conclusion Kaysone Phomvihan stated that the Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes and joins in the Soviet peace initiatives brought forward in Krasnoyarsk. This is a fresh continuation of the Leninist policy of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union. These initiatives, noted Comrade Phomvihan, open a real path toward curbing the nuclear arms race, provide a new boost to the process of reducing armed forces and halting military confrontation, and further promote the widening of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation and peaceful coexistence of various states in the Asia-Pacific region.

Visit Ends 29 Sep

PM3009110788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Completed"]

[Text] Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committe and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] Council of Ministers, who had been in the Soviet Union on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, left Moscow for home 29 September.

At the airport he was seen off by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister; Yu.Ya. Mikheyev, USSR ambassador to the LPDR; and other officials.

Among the send-off party were Khamphan Phanvongsa, LPDR ambassador to the USSR; Dang Dyk Kkhoy [name as published], SRV charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR; and Leng Penglong, PRK charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR.

The state flags of the LPDR and the USSR were hoisted at the airport.

Rogachev Receives Australian Trade Official

LD2909131588 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, today received Michael Lightower, Australian deputy minister of foreign affairs and foreign trade. He is staying in Moscow as the head of an Australian economic delegation.

The sides exchanged opinions on some issues of Soviet-Australian economic cooperation and expressed mutual desire to promote and strengthen business contacts between the two countries.

L.A. Voronin Receives SRV Supply Minister

PM2909114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cooperation Issues Examined"]

[Text] On 28 September L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab, received Hoang Duc Nghi, SRV minister of supply, who is on an official visit to the USSR.

Questions of the development of cooperation between the USSR and the SRV in the sphere of material and technical supply, the rational use of resources, and the implementation of the cooperation program for 1988-1990 were examined. The talk was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Radio Moscow Observer Reviews Vo Chi Cong Visit

BK2909103788 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1200 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Dear friends, you are invited to listen to an article on the results of the official visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Vo Chi Cong, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the SRV Council of State. Radio Moscow observer Lenstov has the following to say:

At present, international life is facing a turning point. The world community now espouses different trends and viewpoints on prospects for socioeconomic development. In light of this, it is all the more deeply realistic to make joint analyses of world events with fraternal countries and to exchange opinions on ways to accelerate development in the socialist countries. The official visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Vo Chi Cong took place against this background. Both sides discussed various issues of importance for the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples and for peace and security on the entire planet.

It must be emphasized that views were exchanged not only at the meeting between Comrade Vo Chi Cong and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and at the Soviet-Vietnamese talks, but also at meetings between the Vietnamese guest and representatives of the people of Moscow, the Ukrainian SSR, and so forth, and this has been welcomed by public opinion. Our two peoples cherish the fraternal friendship that binds the laboring people who have embarked on restructuring and renovation. As Comrade Vo Chi Cong stressed, the Vietnamese people closely follow with great hope the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union and highly value the important decisions adopted at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Our radio observer continues: Both sides agreed that the revolutionary processes currently taking place in both of our countries call for a rapid application of new forms in economic relations, such as cooperative production, joint enterprises, and direct contracts between production establishments of the same sector. These forms of cooperation have brought about considerable results. Comrade Vo Chi Cong stressed that coordinated activities have obviously brought about increases in oil and natural gas exploitation in Vietnam and in the production of fresh vegetables and fruits.

In Kiev, capital of the Ukrainian SSR, Comrade Vo Chi Cong visited the Institute of Arc Welding, one of the Soviet Union's biggest scientific-technological centers, which maintains ties with the Hanoi Technological Institute and some other Vietnamese scientific centers. The distinguished Vietnamese guest highly appreciated the efficiency of these relations.

Furthermore, during this visit, both sides affirmed that there exist small reserves for applying new forms of cooperation, and that it is necessary to broaden cooperation in the national economy to bring it to a new stage consistent with the current level of bilateral relations.

Satisfaction with the consistent development of cooperation was also stressed during talks on international issues. The talks affirmed that both countries totally share the same view and stand on the issue of peace and security and all regional issues. The two countries affirmed their faithfulness to the idea of turning Asia and the Pacific into a region of peace, stability, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. Both sides totally supported the PRK Government's current policy and expressed the conviction that direct negotiations and the restoration of friendship between Vietnam and China would be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific and to the settlement of the Cambodian issue. Dear Vietnamese listeners, concluding his article on Comrade Vo Chi Cong's visit to the Soviet Union, our radio commentator [as heard] says:

The analyses made during Comrade Vo Chi Cong's visit to the Soviet Union show that in the immediate future, our two countries will experience strong development in both internal and international affairs. The closer our multisided cooperation, the more vigorous this development will be.

Near East & South Asia

Conclusion of Yazov Visit to India Reported

PM3009103988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Delhi, 29 Sep—Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India received today Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, who is in India on an official visit at the invitation of the Indian Government. The sides discussed questions of mutual interest. It was noted that exchanges of visits by USSR and Indian statesmen and military figures are a long-standing good tradition and an effective means of further developing Soviet-Indian cooperation. Thanks to the Soviet-Indian summits of recent years this cooperation has attained qualitatively new heights. It was emphasized that the upcoming scheduled summit in Delhi will mark a major step in strengthening the friendly collaboration between our states for the good of our peoples and in the interests of universal security.

An exchange of views took place on a number of international problems. Both sides expressed concern at the attitude of some of the parties to the Geneva accords, particularly Pakistan, toward the implementation of these accords. The systematic violation by the Pakistani side of the commitments it adopted under these documents is thwarting the achievement of a comprehensive Afghan settlement and having an adverse effect on the situation in the region and the process of the establishment of international trust. The USSR and India reaffirmed their interest in Afghanistan remaining an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union, India, and all its neighbors.

In the course of the conversation the successful development of cooperation between our two countries in the military sphere was noted with satisfaction. The firm and reliable basis of this cooperation is the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation concluded between the USSR and India. At the same time it was stressed that, just like Soviet-Indian relations in general, cooperation in the defense sphere is not directed against third countries. It serves not just the national interests of the USSR and India but also the interests of strengthening universal peace and international security.

The USSR defense minister expressed full understanding of the plans implemented by India with a view to strengthening its defense capability. The Soviet Union sincerely seeks to help peace-loving India to become a powerful and prosperous state capable of upholding its national interests and defending its independence, sovereignty, and the cause of peace in Asia.

The meeting with the Indian prime minister, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant and T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day the USSR defense minister visited the navy's airbase in Goa. In Bombay he inspected a major shipbuilding enterprise.

A reception in honor of Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant was given at the USSR Embassy in Delhi. Army General D.T. Yazov and K.C. Pant exchanged speeches.

Within the framework of the Soviet delegation's visit, an exchange of views and consultations were held with the Indian side on questions of an Afghan settlement. The consultations were attended on the Soviet side by special envoy N.I. Kozyrev, and on the Indian side by K.P.S. Menon, Indian Foreign Ministry secretary for foreign affairs. The sides noted with satisfaction the unity of the approaches of the USSR and India and their readiness to contribute to the speediest possible settlement of the Afghan question by political means.

Army General D.T. Yazov departed for home. He was seen off at Delhi airport by Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant and other officials.

Delegation Member on Afghan Accord

BK2909140288 Hong Kong AFP in English 1353 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] New Delhi, Sept 29 (AFP)—A senior Soviet official Thursday accused Pakistan of violating the Geneva peace accords on Afghanistan and warned there would be repercussions if they continued.

"The violations continue to go on," Soviet Ambassador-at-Large Nikolay Kozyrev told journalists here, complaining that there had been no "dramatic" changes in Pakistan's stand after the death of President Mohammed Ziaul Haq.

Mr. Kozyrev, visiting India as part of a high-level Soviet delegation, said Moscow and Kabul would be ready to give a "formidable rebuff" to what he described as acts of provocation by Islamabad.

But his country hoped that Pakistani leaders would adopt a "different attitude" in facilitating an early settlement of the Afghan problem, he said.

Mr. Kozyrev arrived here Monday on a five-day official visit as a member of the delegation led by Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov.

The team has held discussions on defence and international issues, including Afghanistan, with top Indian officials.

The Geneva accords, signed in April by Pakistan and Afghanistan with the backing of the Soviet Union and the United States, took effect in mid-May and mandated that 50 percent of Soviet troops leave Afghanistan by August 15.

But the second stage of the pullout, due to be completed by February 15 next, has been suspended for three months after attacks by the mujahidin rebels intensified.

"To some extent, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is linked with the (Pakistani) violations," Mr. Kozyrev said, adding that the situation in the country was rather complicated. He did not elaborate.

He urged the United States to play a "more constructive role" in implementing the acords.

"One would wish the U.S. side not to close its eyes to the Pakistani violations... and to influence Pakistan so that it complies with the obligations it has assumed."

Moscow says Pakistan is continuing to help the majahidin groups, many of which have headquarters on its territory.

Mr. Kozyrev said the visiting Soviet delegation was satisfied with the talks with Indian leaders, particularly on Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union has obtained a U.N. Security Council meeting, set for Friday, to discuss alleged violations of the Geneva accords, but reports have said Moscow was unlikely to go through with an implied threat to repudiate them.

Shevardnadze on Soviet POW's in Afghanistan

LD2909215088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by V. Zvyagin in New York]

[Text] In New York yesterday, Comrade Shevardnadze held a meeting with members of the international committee to rescue Soviet prisoners in Afghanistan. The members of the committee have in recent months repeatedly asked the leadership of Pakistan and its president personally to help them in freeing Soviet prisoners. The Pakistani side has until now responded with silence. The committee has held meetings with representatives of the mujahidin in New York and, on numerous occasions, has proposed to the Pakistani Government to send a delegation of the committee to that country to assist in liberating the captives. The committee has received no reply to that so far either. It was this state of affairs that prompted the members of the international committee to request the Soviet minister of foreign affairs to assist them in their humanitarian endeavors.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] We have completed the first stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. We are willing to fulfill our obligations under the Geneva agreements to the last detail. In signing the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, we were hoping that the issue of prisoners of war would be resolved as well. Regrettably, things did not work out that way. And from the standpoint of international law, the Afghan opposition—let us use that term—has no grounds to keep holding Soviet prisoners of war. We are willing to hold negotiations with any Afghan opposition group. I am told that there are no Soviet prisoners of war on Pakistani territory; this is stated by very responsible people, representatives of the Pakistani leadership. I want to tell you honestly and frankly that I do not believe this. I have discussed this

matter with Yaqub Khan, and he promised to help—he even offered his services in this regard—in establishing contacts with individual groups of the opposition.

What can I do in concrete terms? My intention is, as a representative of the Soviet leadership, to write a personal letter to Yaqub Khan, and, if need be, to go to a higher level—to the Pakistani president—for the necessary help, support, and assistance in carrying out this noble mission which we have been discussing. [end recording]

The members of the international committee now intend to appeal to the public at large to pool efforts to rescue the Soviet prisoners in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan Protests to UN on Rocket Attacks

LD2909162688 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 29 TASS—The Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has drawn the attention of the U.N. mission in Kabul to an obvious involvement of Pakistan in a series of rocket attacks on Kabul and on other Afghan cities. The attacks entailed numerous casualties.

The Ministry's 87th note which was handed over to the U.N. observers points out that the extremists receive rockets from Pakistan. Thereby Pakistan directly violates the Geneva accords. The Afghan Foreign Ministry requested the U.N. mission to inquire into instances of the supply of weapons and to report the results to the Afghan Government and to the representative of the U.N. secretary-general.

On Tuesday and Wednesday the charge d'affaires ad interim of Pakistan to the Republic of Afghanistan was summoned to the Afghan Foreign Ministry twice. He was informed that on September 19 a helicopter of the Pakistani Air Force crossed the Afghan border in the area of Lakaru Sar (Morura district) and landed there. Upon accomplishing a secret mission which took nine minutes, the helicopter took off and crossed the border in a reverse direction.

A protest was also lodged with the Pakistani representative in connection with the intrusion of two jet planes of the Pakistani Air Force into the air space of Afghanistan on September 27. For three minutes the aircraft made a reconnaissance flight over Afghan territory in Shalman and Kama Dak areas of Nangarhar Province. These facts are indicative of Pakistani authorities' unwillingness to observe the Geneva accords.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry also refuted the accusations levelled at the Afghan side that four Afghan military planes had ostensibly bombed the Harlahi-Kurram district (the north-western border Province of Pakistan). Following a thorough investigation Afghan competent bodies have established that Afghan aircraft did not enter the air space of the contiguous country and, consequently, the accusations are totally slanderous.

The Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has pointed out that Afghanistan invariably pursues the policy of establishing good relations with Pakistan and that it is not Afghanistan's fault that the other side evades the fulfilment of its obligations under the Geneva accords and tries to cover this up through a campaign of lies aimed at the Republic of Afghanistan.

The BAKHTAR news agency has circulated a commentary condemning Islamabad's policy with regard to refugees. Having undertaken in Geneva not to prevent the refugees' repatriation, the Pakistani authorities nevertheless do not allow them to return home. Pickets of Afghan extremists and Pakistani border guards are posted around each refugee camp and are in control of all ways leading out of them. Besides, border areas are patrolled by armed pickets that intercept Afghans who managed to get away from the camps. Following interrogations and tortures they are brought back to the camps. Pakistani police act in the same way. In particular, police used weapons during unrest in Khorasan camp near Peshawar where refugees protested against conditions in whiich they are kept and against rigid restrictions on movement. There were injured, and tens of refugees were imprisoned.

Touching upon the situation in the camps, BAKHTAR points out that the existing system of bans there makes normal life impossible. Recently the authorities banned Afghans from going out to towns even if they found a job there. The refugees do not have a right to visit hospitals and to buy medicines, although infectious diseases are rampant in almost all the camps. Any attempts at protest are cut short by punitive actions of police.

Meanwhile Islamabad tries to present the matters so as to show that it is precisely the Afghan side that ostensibly puts obstacles in the path of refugees. However, the Afghan Government is known to have decided to demilitarise a number of border areas. It bears the expenses for the maintenance of repatriates during their return home, and took a number of other measures promoting mass-scale return of refugees. So, Islamabad simply distorts obvious facts in order to justify its obstructionist policy, BAKHTAR points out in conclusion.

Kabul Blast Shows Rebels Still Opt for Terror

PM2909142188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent D. Meshchaninov: "Afghanistan: Civilians Killed"]

[Text] Kabul—On Tuesday residential areas of the Afghan capital again came under rocket attack. The extremists' crime killed 35. Another 156 citizens were injured. The dead and injured included around 40 women and children. Dozens of houses were destroyed.

That was the bloody outcome of another crime by the armed opposition against their own people. While talking about their "desire for peace on Afghan soil," the extremists are continuing to cold-bloodedly murder and maim their compatriots.

This makes the statement by Ahmad Shah, leader of the mujahidin so-called "transitional government," that his government allegedly has the backing of 90 percent of the Afghan population sound all the more blasphemous. As in the past, the extremists are opting for terror and are rejecting any proposals on the solution of disputes at the negotiating table rather than by force of arms.

According to an AFP report from Islamabad, Ahmad Shah recently rejected the proposal by Diego Cordovez, representative of the UN secretary general, on setting up an Afghan Government on a broader basis. Moreover, the "irreconcilables'" leader has officially asked the United Nations to recognize the "transitional government" he heads as the sole legitimate representative of the Afghan people.

To all appearances, the ambitions of the head of the armed opposition's "transitional government," which is not recognized by anyone, have the full backing of the Pakistani authorities, who are continuing to give all-around military and financial aid to the "freedom fighters." Pakistan's anti-Afghan policy has been publicly welcomed and encouraged by senior representatives of the U.S. Administration. U.S. Vice President G. Bush said that he is proud of the fact that Pakistan is a great friend of the United States and that the two countries have common aspirations and goals.

No doubt common "aspirations and goals" means the reluctance of both the Pakistani and the U.S. authorities to contribute to the resolution of one of the bloodiest and longest regional conflicts in the very heart of Asia. So G. Bush's declaration of the U.S. intention to "carry out its peace-keeping mission in the region" is just another propaganda trick. Particularly as the facts indicate the contrary.

According to a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES, U.S. Administration representatives and Afghan armed opposition leaders are continuing to conduct an active dialogue. The United States has even appointed a special envoy to liaise with the Afghan resistance movement in order to "coordinate the rebels' military-political activity." The paper writes that most of the U.S. emissary's time "will be spent in close contact with the Afghan mujahidin leaders in Peshawar and Quetta."

Afghan Rebels' Quest for UN Recognition Derided
PM3009102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Sep 88 First Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "Terrorists Apply... to the United Nations"]

[Text] Kabul, 29 Sep—According to an AFP report from Islamabad, the so-called "provisional transitional government" of Afghan "fighters for the faith" has asked the United Nations to recognize it as the "sole legitimate representative of the people of Afghanistan." "Government" head Ahmad Shah has sent a special message to the UN secretary general.

What is the "government" of Ahmad Shah like? It is a group of political adventurers reflecting the interests of the most extremist section of the "irreconcilable" Afghan opposition responsible for bloody crimes against the people of Afghanistan. They are the political agents of those who are continuing to commit brigandage on Afghan soil after the signing of the Geneva accords, gambling on seizing power in Kabul by military means. According to the Afghan side's data, during just the 1st 2 months after the Geneva accords came into effect extremists from among the "irreconcilables" undertook 2,914 military actions and 96 acts of terrorism on Afghan territory, resulting in 448 peaceful Afghans being killed and 500 injured. If you start counting from May, groups of terrorists have fired more than 380 "surface-to-surface" missiles on Kabul and caused dozens of explosions in the city's streets. Approximately 300 city dwellers have been killed and more than 460 injured.

Since it came into being at the beginning of this year, the self-styled "government" has repeatedly tried to struggle into the tailcoat of respectability, seeking recognition from some states or international organizations. So far, however, this has ended in failure. Not even friends and patrons of the "irreconcilable" section of the Afghan opposition venture to give it official recognition: The role of the Pakistani and U.S. special services in the venture of the "provisional transitional government" is just too obvious. And now the "government," which directs from Peshawar the struggle against its own people, is laying claim to a UN seat, neither more nor less.

The ambitions of Ahmad Shah and his "ministers" have provoked a rebuff even from the "Alliance of Seven." At any rate, commenting on the UN demarche, Akram Garan [name as published], official spokesman for the "alliance" information center, declared that the "transitional government" has no powers to act on behalf of the mujahidin, the refugees, or the Afghan people.

Nevertheless, the pretentious intrigues of those ensconced in Peshawar [peshavarskiye sideltsy] are getting support from the Pakistani and U.S. authorities. The United States has even appointed a special envoy to liaise with the armed Afghan opposition with the rank of counselor to the ambassador to Pakistan on special issues. It is proposed that the U.S. emissary will coordinate the extremists' military-political activity, which, as is known, is aimed at overthrowing the legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan, which is represented at the United Nations and in the Nonaligned Movement and maintains diplomatic relations with more than 80 countries.

Is this U.S. stance compatible with its role as guarantor of the Geneva agreements?

Vavilov Urges UN Involvement in Afghan Solution
LD2809153488 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

It is important to restore to the United Nations its role of the centre for the settlement of international conflicts through concerted efforts. Expressed by the Soviet Union and some other countries at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session, the idea received the approval of international public which has become aware of the need for a greater role to be played by the organisation.

The solutions found, or, at least some headway made in solving many political conflicts this year with an active U.N. participation, as exemplified by Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, South Africa-Namibia-Angola, and Western Sahara, prove that the United Nations is capable of becoming a genuine instrument for the furtherance of peace and reduction of tensions.

The Geneva accords on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan have severed the string of regional conflicts and became the first step in a chain-reaction process of improving the world.

Of course it is not enough to just adopt a good decision. A genuine elimination of a conflict requires the strictest implementation of the decisions adopted by all parties concerned. The example of Afghanistan proves this. The two countries—Afghanistan and the Soviet Union—are scrupulously honouring their Geneva commitments assumed. But the other two—Pakistan and the USA—appear for some reasons not to regard themselves as bound by those commitments.

In the new situation in Afghanistan, when Soviet troops have already left most of the country's provinces, Islamabad has stepped up its assistance to the Afghan armed opposition, in a bid to install in Kabul a government of its liking. Washington, for its part, has further intensified shipments to those armed formations of its arms, including the most advanced missile launchers and heavy weapons. This is, doubtless, the crudest violation of the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords.

But things can be made straight again. One valid option is to make use of the United Nations mechanism. The Soviet Union proposes discussing the question of implementation of the Geneva accords at a meeting of permanent members of the Security Council together with the U.N. secretary general, also inviting representatives of the directly concerned parties to such a meeting.

The USA has not yet given an official answer to this Soviet proposal, although the U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations Vernon Walters, referring to Soviet statements on Afghanistan, said he found many interesting things in them. Previously, as is known, Washington rejected the proposal on a meeting of foreign ministers of the four countries—the United States, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Pakistan with the participation of a U.N. representative.

The international forum of nations has proposed a reasonable and quite realistic plan for assisting in the implementation of the Geneva accords.

Western Sahara Clash, Settlement Prospects Viewed
PM2909145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Filatov report: "Echo of Recent Fighting"]

[Text] Algiers, 28 Sep—A few days ago another outbreak of hostilities was recorded in the Western Sahara: Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia El Hamra and Rio de Oro [Polisario] detachments dealt a powerful blow to Moroccan troop positions in the Umm Dreyga [name as published] sector—several dozen men were killed and wounded on both sides.

The echo of the fighting reverberates in local press commentaries and politicians' statements. The Moroccan press accuses the Polisario Front of having carried out the strike at a time when prospects of a peaceful solution of the Western Saharan conflict under UN mediation are emerging. Polisario is sabotaging the reconciliation process and trying to exert pressure on the United Nations, AL-BAYANE writes indignantly.

In turn M. Abdelazziz, leader of the Polisario Front, held a news conference at which he stated that the operation against the Moroccan troops occupying Western Sahara territory accorded with the liberation aims of the people of the Western Sahara. Especially since there is still no cease-fire agreement, he stressed.

At the same time the UN Security Council recently approved the plan for a peaceful settlement of this conflict proposed by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar and earlier supported by both opposing sides. Moreover, the appointment of a special representative of the UN secretary general for Western Sahara is expected in the immediate future. These diplomatic measures will possibly help relax the tense situation. However, it must be noted that the positions of the two participants in the conflict are still very much at variance with one another with regard to the details of a settlement of this conflict.

East Europe

Further on Honecker Visit to Soviet Union

'Joint Announcement' Issued
PM3009115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1, 5

["Joint Announcement for the Press" on the visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council]

[Text] The GDR and the USSR, linked by fast friendship and internationalist solidarity based on identity of views

on the principal issues of foreign policy and socialist development, resolve to cooperate closely in the future as well for the benefit of their peoples. They aim at further raising the state already achieved in the development of German-Soviet relations, unprecedented in their intensity and variety, the core of which is the close militant community of the SED and the CPSU on the basis of Marxism- Leninism. In the present stage of the development of world socialism and international politics, this was once again confirmed during the working visit of Comrade Erich Honecker to the USSR.

The SED and the GDR working people express their unanimous support for the course of the CPSU for the renewal of Soviet society. They are convinced that the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, as well as the success of the restructuring in the USSR, will be of great import for the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of world socialism.

The CPSU and the Soviet people wish the SED and the working people of the GDR further success in the realization of the party's course aimed at unity of economic and social policy, and the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress on the strengthening of the Socialist German state and for the benefit of its people.

I.

The foundation of relations between the GDR and the USSR is the 7 October 1975 agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual support, on the basis of which cooperation on political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and intellectual levels for the welfare of both peoples is continually being deepened in the interests of the entire socialist community.

The leaderships of the two parties and states highly value the level of their bilateral relations, their growing dynamism, and the altogether successful realization of the agreements for cooperation to a qualitatively new level. Here, the intensive, varied, and fruitful meetings and exchanges of experience between leading representatives of the two parties and states, including those at the highest level, play an important role.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the fraternal, equal character and the active development of relations between the SED and the CPSU. Both sides consider it necessary to expand the practice of mutual consultations between the SED and CPSU Central Committees and the secretaries of the two parties' Central Committees on domestic and foreign policy questions. They declared themselves in favor of expanding contacts between the party organs and the regional party organizations, between scientific and educational establishments of the SED and CPSU, as well as strengthening their cooperation, enriching them with new forms, and increasing their practical effectiveness.

The primary significance of the successful development of mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technical cooperation was expressed. The GDR and the USSR will make added efforts to consolidate specialization and cooperation in science, technology, and production; to perfect the structure of the exchange of goods; to introduce progressive forms of foreign economic cooperation; and to increase the technical level and the quality of reciprocal supplies. In the process, direct relations between production associations, combines, enterprises, and organizations of the GDR and the USSR, and joint common scientific and production collectives, as well as joint common enterprises will occupy and ever-increasing place.

The importance of the implementation of the "long-term program of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in science, technology, and production up to the year 2000," of the implementation of the long-term government agreements and of other accords between the two countries was emphasized.

The "GDR Exhibition in Moscow" that has just opened is an important event in bilateral relations. It has become a demonstration of the achievements of the working people of the republic under the leadership of the SED on the socialist path of development. It made clear the multifaceted opportunities for cooperation between the two countries to achieve world standards in the key areas of science, technology, and production for the wellbeing of the peoples of the GDR and the USSR.

Interest was noted in the careful coordination of economic plans for the period 1991-95 with consideration for the growing tasks at the present stage of socialist construction and the emerging new economic conditions. The GDR and the USSR regard close cooperation in the optimum solution of the fuel and raw materials problem as a common task of strategic importance.

Attention was drawn to the acceleration of the development and introduction of the most modern equipment and technologies, the use of solutions that are new in principle in the intensification and rationalization of production on the basis of the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress of the CEMA member states up to the year 2000.

Both sides concurred that it is necessary to step up the work of reorganizing the activity of CEMA for elaborating a strategy to create and develop a united market of CEMA countries. The importance was noted of CEMA establishing relations with the EEC for the development of mutual understanding, trust, and mutually advantageous cooperation between the states in Eastern and Western Europe.

In the sphere of ideology, the two sides spoke in favor of the deepening collaboration among the social scientists of both countries in the elaboration of a concept of

modern socialism and the solution of problems of principle in socialist economic integration. The long-term program between scientists and scientific teams in the GDR and the USSR of cooperation in the social sciences field will serve this goal.

It was agreed to intensively develop the exchanges in cultural areas and to promote direct relations between cultural establishments and artists' associations of the two countries. In this, the long-term complex program of basic directions for cultural cooperation between the GDR and USSR to the year 2000, the formulation of which was commenced with, will play an important role.

The importance was noted of improving conditions for meetings between GDR and USSR, citizens especially the young, for the expansion of tourism in order to familiarize working people more broadly with life in the respective fraternal country.

II

In international affairs, the GDR and the USSR, together with their allies in the Warsaw Pact, are guided by the idea of a world without nuclear weapons, war, or force and they are helping achieve this goal by practical measures. They advocate truly democratic, civilized relations among all states on the basis of full equality and respect for the decision of each people on their social system. They are prepared to consider all proposals for eliminating the danger of the destruction of mankind and to cooperate fruitfully for this lofty objective with all interested states, as well as all social and political forces of our world.

Both sides agreed that despite all the continuing complications, there emerges a change for the better in the world, that recognition is growing of the need to push the new political thinking through on a broad basis, and to overcome altogether militarist cliches and the spirit of confrontation in international relations. In this context, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a truly historic step that opens the way for other far-reaching disarmament initiatives. In this connection, it was pointed out that any attempts at "compensation" for nuclear weapons that have to be eliminated according to the INF Treaty is impermissible, since this would result in a new round of the arms race.

The GDR and the USSR are in favor of the disarmament process continuing without interruption by means of further accords and agreements on an increasingly far-reaching and radical reduction of the existing weapons arsenals, including all nuclear weapons. They are of the opinion that the proposals of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session in July of this year open up opportunities for a new breakthrough in disarmament, in the sphere of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, as well as in a broader sense for the practical development of building blocks for the "common European home." In this connection, the two sides reiterated their desire to actively participate in its establishment. They are of the opinion that in the present responsible phase of East-West relations, particular importance is attached to constructive political dialogue and agreements that serve peace and the development of cooperation beneficial to all.

The two sides declared their determination to contribute to a speedy conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting with a substantial and balanced final document that will raise the all-European process to a qualitatively new level.

Reference was made to the principled importance for peace and disarmament attached to the conclusion of agreements on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons under strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, on a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests, and on a global ban on chemical weapons.

The GDR fully supports as extremely timely the proposals submitted by the USSR in Warsaw on 11 July 1988 for the strengthening of security in Europe and the initiatives announced in Krasnoyarsk on 16 September 1988 for confidence-building, peaceful coexistence, and detente in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Soviet Union again declared its support for the proposal by the GDR and the CSSR for the creation of a corridor free of nuclear weapons in central Europe and underlined its readiness to withdraw, on a mutual basis, its nuclear weapons from such a corridor and to become their guarantors vis-a-vis non-nuclear states. At the same time, the great importance was noted of the initiatives of the GDR and CSSR Governments for the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe, as well as the proposals of the SED and SPD on a zone of trust and security in this region. The GDR and the Soviet Union again confirmed their view that the inviolability of borders, unconditional respect for existing territorial and political realities, and for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, as well as other universally recognized principles and norms of interstate relations are the most important condition for the preservation of peace and security in Europe.

In this connection, the two sides confirmed their readiness for the further development of cooperation with the FRG. The opportunities opening up here must not be burdened by demands that contravene the treaties and agreements concluded between the FRG and the socialist countries. The Soviet Union unreservedly supports the GDR's legitimate demand to bring relations between the two sovereign, independent German states fully into harmony with the universally recognized norms of international law.

The GDR and the USSR proceed on the basis that the foundations for the further improvement of the situation concerning West Berlin and the development of good-neighborly relations with that city, which are constructive elements for preserving peace, are respect for existing realities and strict observation of the Quadripartite Agreement of 3 September 1971.

The SED and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR declare their determination to strengthen the fraternal alliance between the two parties, states, and peoples, and the relations of mutual understanding, sincere friendship, and all-around cooperation, and to actively work together for the benefit of peace, international security, and socialism.

Flight Control Center Visit

LD2909210788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Before his departure Comrade Honecker visited the Flight Control Center. A communications session was held with the crew of the "Mir" orbiting complex. During it the GDR leader greeted the Soviet cosmonauts and wished them successful work in orbit.

The same day the guest visited the design bureau, which was set up and headed for many years by Korolov, the founder of Soviet cosmonautics. The guest was accompanied by Comrade Baklanov and other officials.

Technical Centers Established

LD2909212888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (ADN)—A government agreement on the establishment of technical centers in the capitals of both countries was signed on Thursday in Moscow by Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, and Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations.

It was stressed in connection with the signing that the requirements in technical advice to users, in the training of specialist personnel, and in customer service are rising with the constantly growing exchange of goods in the area of mechanical engineering and electrical engineering/electronics, as well as in the increase in the scientific-technical standard of the products. Favorable conditions for the high quality solution to these tasks will be created through the establishment of the technical centers.

Murakhovskiy Confers With GDR Minister

PM3009105388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 29 September V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received G. Tautenhahn, GDR minister of the Construction of General Machinery, Agricultural Machinery, and Vehicles. A number of questions of a trade and economic character were discussed, as were the main areas of the expansion of cooperation in the sphere of machine building for the food industry and agriculture.

Ryzhkov Greets Economic Forum in Bulgaria

LD2409115288 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has sent a message of greeting to participants in Varna-Forum III. The forum held in the Bulgarian city is being attended by prominent politicians, public figures and representatives of business circles of the East and the West. They are to exchange views on global problems of world economic development and practical problems connected with trade and economic cooperation between countries.

"The Soviet Union comes out for creating and supporting a trade and political situation in world economic relations which would be characterized by stability, predictability and the observance of the principles of equality and mutual advantage. The establishment in the world community of the concept of world economic security providing for mutual respect and the taking into account of each other's interests would promote the attaining of those goals", Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out in the message

Council of Ministers Congratulates Rakowski

PM2909105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of Polish Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

Esteemed Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski!

In connection with your appointment to the lofty post of chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, please accept our cordial congratulations and wishes for success in your responsible activity in the interests of strengthening socialist Poland and further boosting its prestige in the international arena.

We express the firm conviction that the relations of fraternal friendship and all-around Soviet-Polish cooperation will continue to expand and deepen for the good of our countries and peoples and the cause of socialism and peace.

USSR Council of Ministers

Background to Change of Polish Premier Viewed

PM2909130188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin commentary: "Poland: Resignation and Elections"]

[Text] Warsaw—For the first time in Poland's postwar history, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has announced a government resignation during a Sejm session.

Quite recently—in late April-early May—the republic experienced a wave of strikes. After that the situation stabilized, but only outwardly. August and September were marked by a new and even more powerful outbreak of disturbances. This time shipyards, metallurgical and machine building enterprises, a seaport, and a number of coal mines in the Silesian basin stood idle. The country, which was already having a difficult time, suffered material damage of almost Z54 billion, $20 million, or R9 million.

Since the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses Poland has firmly taken the path of socialist renewal, a thorough economic and social reform has been carried out purposefully, and consistent measures aimed at coordinating different political and other positions reflecting the interests ultimately of all strata of the population have helped national revival. But even an undoubted move toward progress sometimes involves privations (whether they are short-term or long-term is another matter). It was decided to carry out a considerable balancing of the prices of means of production, basic necessities, and foodstuffs with the population's income. As a result prices were officially raised by 27 percent at the beginning of this year. At the same time various categories of workers and people on pensions were paid compensation.

Prices were inflated (it must be borne in mind that there is a huge private sector in Poland) and incomes rose, but in fact there were no extra goods on the market. The results of the first half year alone showed that various types of output, goods, and services became almost 60 percent dearer and incomes rose by... more than 60 percent. Inflation became more intensive than ever before, made people uncertain about the future, and consequently increased the lack of confidence in the course of reforms. Groupings of the former Solidarity and other antisocialist forces took advantage of what was for them a favorable situation and became extremely active.

No, no one today has the right to say that the government was a passive spectator of events. It was given extraordinary powers to prevent excessive payments not backed up by real production activity. And to control prices, unprofitable enterprises were closed, and initiative and enterprise aimed at the development of sectors were encouraged in every way. But the genie was out of the bottle... Even though quite a few positive results had been achieved, as Z. Messner, leader of the former government, noted in his speech at the first Sejm session. In particular, for the first time the country's level of exports rose to $8 billion a year. Poland has not taken out new credits for several years now. Its economic, scientific, and technical ties with the fraternal socialist countries have reached a qualitatively new level. Important economic contacts with the West have been restored. Nevertheless, the Sejm's extraordinary commission monitoring the introduction of the economic reform expressed doubt about the present government's ability to pursue the reform process effectively.

On 27 September the candidacy of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was proposed to the Sejm. The 62-year-old statesman, politician, and writer, who is well known in Poland, received 338 deputies' votes. Five opposed and 35 abstained. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, who spoke from the parliamentary podium, stressed the unusual nature of the present situation in the country and focused attention on the tasks that the new government will have to resolve. They are first and foremost to improve people's prosperity, accelerate the rate of housing construction, resolutely slow down inflation, create the optimum management and other structures in the national economy, resolutely develop the processes of reform, and provide conditions for the active creative involvement of young people in society's life. The decisions of the recent Central Committee plenum noted that ultimately someone specific must be responsible for any assignment. That thesis has now been supported—the Central Comittee and the government have each been instructed to elaborate a scenario for the consolidation of the economy in the next 2 years and then to combine them on a thoroughly democratic basis.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers will announce the composition of the new government in the next few days.

Visiting Polish Shipyard Worker Interviewed

PM2909111088 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Polish shipyard foreman Romuald Czaplicki by TRUD correspondent Ye. Zhurabayev at end of visit to USSR by group of Polish workers: ""You Cannot Remain Aloof""; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Moscow, September—The reason for the journey to the USSR by Romuald Czaplicki, a foreman from a Polish shipyard, and 14 of his colleagues is, you could say, widely known. In July of this year the shipyard collective in the Polish city of Szczecin, which exports oceangoing ships to the Soviet Union, received a high-ranking guest—M.S. Gorbachev. During a friendly, unconstrained talk, R. Czaplicki mentioned that he and

his comrades obtain information about the Soviet Union mainly from newspaper publications. Yet they would like to see with their own eyes the processes of renewal of socialism that have begun in the USSR. "You can take it that we agree," M.S. Gorbachev then said. "I think we will organize a visit by you to our country." The television brought that conversation to millions of people.

And now, at the end of a week's visit to our country, R. Czaplicki talks with TRUD correspondent Ye. Zhurabayev: [passage omitted]

[Zhurabayev] I would be interested to hear your attitude on strikes as a means of resolving labor conflicts.

[Czaplicki] On the basis of personal experience, and I have experienced two strikes in my time, I am against them. They not only disrupt the economy, they also disrupt the working people's own lives and involve great nervous strain. There are other ways of resolving labor conflicts—the main thing is not to delay in tackling them. Strikes tend to affect mainly those enterprises where the administration is bogged down in bureaucracy and is always waiting for instructions from above, thereby wasting precious time. The net result is that strikes play into the hands of the demagogues, and result in no real progress for the workers themselves.

[Zhurabayev] It is well known that in Poland recently, for the first time in a socialist country, the trade unions put forward a vote of no confidence in the government. What is your attitude to this event in Poland's political life?

[Czaplicki] I believe the vote of no confidence was necessary. The previous government had a fairly clear program, but was unable to fulfill it. It had exhausted people's trust, and should give way to those who try to fulfill their plans. Competition between minds can do no harm here—after all, the country's future, the future of millions of working people, depends on progress in the economy. The working people must believe in the government's ability to ensure progress.

In general, we have much in common as regards the problems facing us, but we also have our own specific characteristics, our own experience. Therefore we must more actively learn from one another, and that includes learning from our friends' mistakes. And not only at interstate level, but also at the level of those who do the work, the ordinary workers. M.S. Gorbachev has said this repeatedly. The necessary conditions have already been created for this—now people must not remain aloof.

Yazov Greets Hungary's Karpati on Army Day

PM2909134188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[Undated congratulations message from Defense Minister Yazov "To Comrade Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian Defense Minister"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I send you and all Hungarian servicemen cordial congratulations and combat greetings on the occasion of Hungarian Armed Forces Day.

Marking this holiday together with their brothers in arms—the servicemen of the Hungarian Army—the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces express their firm resolve to tirelessly strengthen our armies' friendship and cooperation and to make a joint contribution to further strengthening the Warsaw Pact Organization.

I wish you, esteemed Comrade Minister, and all Hungarian servicemen further success in fulfilling the decisions of the All-Hungarian MSZMP Conference and strengthening the defense capability of Hungary and the entire socialist community in the interests of peace and progress.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Paper Reports on Hungarian Accord With EEC

PM2909142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p5

[Vladimir Gerasimov "Viewpoint": "Hungary and the European Home"]

[Text] Figuratively speaking, Hungary is the first socialist country to lay its "brick" in building the contemporary European home. It has signed a trade and economic agreement with the EEC. Together with the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, this is more real action on the way to tearing down the high fences which for so many years have been built around Europe's "construction sites"—around the one fenced off by the protectionist customs barriers of the 12 EEC countries and the one where the socialist community countries' integration ties are developing.

It is now clear that these fences have prevented the interest of all European countries and peoples in collaboration being fully shown. The socially important concerns of the entire European home have been artificially ignored and disregarded. We do not intend to seek out the guilty parties, however. A fact of here and now is that after 15 years of talks between CEMA and the EEC, a common front of "construction work" has finally emerged.

"The new political thinking in international relations proclaimed by the Soviet leadership," the Hungarian newspaper NEPSZABADSAG wrote recently, "has also produced results in relations between the two economic communities." The Soviet Union and a number of other CEMA countries have also stated their willingness to establish official bilateral relations with the EEC, which has met with a favorable response from the "Common Market" countries.

The mutually complementary, interdependent nature of Eastern and Western Europe's economic structures can work well to the benefit of our whole continent. Every socialist country that develops direct contacts with the EEC will not only gain definite benefits for itself—it will also make its own contribution to the development of the common cause.

Hungary has considerable business prestige in the world as an exporter of many competitive industrial and agricultural goods. It has some 350 cooperative agreements with firms in the 12 "Common Market" countries alone. In Hungary itself there are 69 joint enterprises with West European firms and 82 such enterprises outside the country, in EEC states. Given loans by UN financial bodies—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the IMF—since 1982, Hungary is implementing 13 important economic programs. Some of them are designed to improve the structure of production: to increase the output of synthetic materials, agricultural machinery, modern units for the food industry, and rubber goods. The production of electronic components is being modernized on the basis of Western loans. There are also programs helping to further develop the agricultural sectors.

As is well known, the protectionist measures taken by the "Common Market" in relation to Hungarian export goods could not have a positive impact on the prospects for fully implementing these programs. Now, however, the joint Hungarian-EEC commission will guarantee the framework for the development of such important areas as, for example, trade in agricultural products. On the basis of the principles of the agreement signed in Brussels, the Hungarian side feels it necessary to begin talks with the European Coal and Steel Community in order to extend "favored nation status" to its metallurgical products.

I would also draw your attention to the following. J. Marjai, deputy premier of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has said that joint efforts have to be made in the interests of ensuring that the further development of integration within the European community of twelve—that is, the formation of a so-called "single domestic market" in Western Europe by 1992—does not become an obstacle but, on the contrary, opens up new opportunities for cooperation between CEMA countries and all EEC countries. After all, it is no secret that this new "story" the 12 West European partners intend to build in the next few years is coming in for some strong criticism from European political and social figures.

The inhabitants of our common home have a considerable number of difficulties to overcome. A great deal still divides them. But it seems to me that cooperation between the two communities could remove the problems that arise on both sides of the "fences" still to be taken down. Extensive, equitable, mutually advantageous, mutually respectful cooperation will help this process.

MTI Cited on End to Hungarian Student Strike

PM3009115788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Students' Strike"]

[Text] Budapest, 29 Sep—MTI reports that the student occupation of the Philosophy Department of the Attila Jozsef university in Szeged ended Wednesday. The students had demanded the renewal of the educational process system and an increase in material support for universities.

In the afternoon representatives of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education met with students.

After the meeting the students announced the end of the strike.

Soviet Late Deliveries Hamper Romanian Progress

PM3009094988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA own correspondent V. Vedrashko under the rubric "Urgent Alert": "Waiting 3 Years for What Was Promised"]

[Text] Bucharest—With the onset of winter the Romanian press is drawing attention increasingly persistently to power supply questions. The stress is primarily on the timely commissioning of capacities to generate power and heat. Both the smooth work of the country's enterprises and—importantly, in my view—heat in apartments, depend on them.

Against the background of these concerns any lag in observing the timetables for repairing power industry equipment is particularly unpleasant. It is doubly unpleasant when it is a question of delays because of Soviet partners.

One of the largest Soviet-Romanian cooperation projects is the "Mintiya-Deva" [name as published] heat and power station. Six Soviet-supplied power units each with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts were assembled here with the participation of our specialists. The first was commissioned in 1969, the last in 1980. The station is working steadily, and carries much of the workload in Romania's power supply system. But the time has come to replace worn-out equipment. The No 1 unit was shut down for a planned major overhaul. In 1985 a contract was concluded between the "Romenergo" foreign trade enterprise and the All-Union "Tekhnopromeksport" Association envisaging the delivery in 1986-1988 of equipment and spare parts required for repairing the first unit. Since the equipment has not been delivered for the last 2 years, the unit's repair is being postponed. The Romanian side has repeatedly asked that deliveries be speeded up. Some deliveries have been received. But delays, it seems, have become the daily practice of certain Soviet organizations. Thus one of the recent

promises by "Tekhnopromeksport" and the USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building was that the missing 70 tonnes of equipment would be delivered from the USSR before the end of August, and their manufacture and shipment were being monitored. But the promise has still not been fulfilled.

The fall has brought the first cold weather to many of the country's districts... The boiler of the first unit at the "Mintiya-Deva" power station has been opened up and repair work is under way. The Romanian construction workers are making an enormous effort to finish it; they are in urgent need of Soviet equipment.

SFRY Adopts Program To End Kosovo Unrest

PM3009105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "On the Events in Kosovo"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep—The national program of measures designed to end the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under pressure of the nationalist sentiments of a section of the Albanian population of the autonomous province is a real platform for stabilizing the situation there by democratic means. This was stated at an SFRY Presidium session devoted to questions of the normalization of the situation in Kosovo, where interethnic relations have sharply worsened recently.

The SFRY Presidium noted, according to a TANJUG report, that the restoration and strengthening of interethnic trust and the adoption of all the measures necessary to safeguard people's security are of crucial significance to the implementation of the program.

It was stated at the session that some tasks of the Yugoslav national program of measures are being implemented within the set schedule, and this is having a definite and positive effect.

Despite that, however, the program's main aim with regard to Kosovo—an end to the Serbian and Montenegrin exodus from the province and their return to their homes—has not been achieved. The SFRY Presidium has demanded that greater responsibility be placed on competent organs at all levels, above all in the autonomous province, for carrying out their set obligations.

As TANJUG has reported, on Tuesday workers of the state security organs in the Kosovo Autonomous Province arrested 42 people who had carried out the planned dissemination of leaflets and slogans of an antistate content in population centers in Kosovo.

The report notes that criminal procedings will be instituted against the majority of those arrested, and that other appropriate measures will be taken.

SFRY Youth League Alarmed at Kosovo Situation

PM2909140588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "Teleprinter" rubric: "Alarm in Kosovo"]

[Text] Yugoslav young people's alarm and concern in connection with the worsening of the problems of national relations in the SFRY and criticism of state organs for their ineffective activity were heard at a session of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia Federal Conference Presidium on Monday.

The speakers at the session devoted their main attention to the problem of the Kosovo Autonomous Republic. They noted, newspaper reports indicate, that the hostile attitude toward Serbs and Montenegrins on the part of nationalist circles among the province's Albanian population has intensified and that the measures adopted have not halted the excesses and vandalism.

The session participants adopted an "Appeal to Reason" addressed to the Yugoslav public.

The document stresses that the country's current economic and social problems, the ineffectiveness of the political system, and a situation in which fratricidal war is more likely than progressively overcoming difficulties can no longer be regarded merely as a further deterioration in the situation.

This is shown most tragically in Kosovo, where institutions in the system are no longer capable of guaranteeing either people's freedom or personal security or the safety of their property. We believe that leaders in senior posts who have not made use of their potential should resign. We do not agree that socialism means equality in poverty.

West Europe

Akhromeyev Arrives at Swedish Peace Institute

LD2809193188 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Stockholm September 28 TASS—Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, First Deputy Defence Minister of the USSR Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev arrived here today at the invitation of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute to participate in measures devoted to the memory of the prominent politician and statesman of Sweden Olof Palme.

Sergey Akhromeyev took part in a meeting of the International Academic Council of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Sergey Akhromeyev had a meeting with General Secretary of Sweden's Foreign Ministry Pierre Schori.

The Soviet Army leader laid a wreath to the Olof Palme monument.

Addresses Stockholm Symposium

LD2909170688 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Stockholm September 29 TASS—Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, First Deputy Defense Minister of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, now on a visit here at the invitation of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, today delivered a report on control over armaments at the International Olof Palme Memory Symposium.

The well-known politician of our times Olof Palme, who headed the government and the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden, left a gratifying memory of himself in the history of international relations. Many ideas in the sphere of ending the arms race, radical reduction of nuclear armaments, establishment of nuclear-free zones in Europe, demilitarization of outer space, which he fought for, accord in many respects with Soviet initiatives, the report said.

The Soviet Army leader said that real results had been reached in the recent time in the sphere of disarmament and relaxation of military tension (the INF Treaty, the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures, and Disarmament in Europe), and set forth the USSR's viewpoint on prospects of the process of disarmament, specificially reduction of troops, nuclear and conventional armaments.

The report paid special attention to the need for spreading confidence-building measures to independent activities of naval and air forces, reduction of their armaments. [sentence as received] Attention was drawn once against to the proposals made in the Vladivostok, Murmansk, Belgrade and Krasnoyarsk speeches by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Expounded in detail was also the Soviet concept of stage-by-stage reduction of troops and conventional armaments in Europe.

In conclusion, the speaker wished the scientists of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a competent international research center, successes in their work aimed at improving mutual understanding and building up confidence. Managers and senior scientific staff members of the institute, representatives of political and military circles of Sweden, heads of diplomatic missions were presented when the report was delivered.

On the same day the Soviet Army leader had a meeting with correspondents of Swedish and foreign mass media.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev today had a meeting with Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Sweden Army General Bengt Gustafsson, and also Commander of Sweden's Air Force Lieutenant General Sven-Olof Olson. Questions of development of bilateral contacts in the military sphere were discussed.

The USSR's Ambassador in Sweden B. Pankin took part in the meetings.

Denies Submarine Presence

LD2909195388 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] The chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces is visiting Stockholm today in order to speak about arms control and disarmament in the series of lectures of the Stockholm International Peace research Institute, SIPRI, in memory of Olof Palme. Before the speech he met the press.

[Begin recording] [Akhromeyev, in Russian fading into Swedish translation] Nothing special is happening in the Baltic states; they are merely carrying out their restructuring. Everything is completely normal.

[Correspondent] Marshal Akhromeyev took the opportunity to tone down most of what the rest of the world has been noting in the Soviet Union recently. The extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee tomorrow was not news; because he has been a full member since 1983, he had already been informed and, as planned, will fly back to Moscow this evening.

All Soviet troops will have left Afghanistan by 15 February; they have observed the timetable of the Geneva accords and had withdrawn half of the troops before 15 August. Apart from that, the marshal praised the neutral countries, Sweden and Finland, which are playing a positive role in arms control and are a stabilizing factor in the north of Europe. The only question on which the marshal really had to hold his tongue concerned the statements by Vice Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, in connection with a Soviet naval exercise a few weeks ago. The vice admiral issued a warning then about Sweden's role in the growing tension in the Baltic.

Now Marshal Akhromeyev said that that statement merely applied to the Swedish naval watch on the special Soviet exercise, whereas his own statement applies to Sweden's general political course. But Marshal Akhromeyev stressed that any talk in the Swedish mass media about Soviet submarines in Swedish waters did not contribute to an improvement of relations between the two countries. For, naturally, no Soviet submarines were concerned, nor did the marshal have the faintest idea of where they came from. Since the U-137 submarine in the Karlskrona archipelago in 1981, a general order was

issued to the Soviet Navy to keep away from Swedish territorial waters, the marshal said. But he did not, in any case, speak about navigation errors. [end recording]

Gromyko Stresses Disarmament, Human Interests

PM2909112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 28 September in the Kremlin, A.A. Gromyko received prominent West European politician Gaston Thorn, president of RTL [Radio Tele Luxembourg] and chairman of the Banque Internationale a Luxembourg Council. The visitor is well known abroad both as the former president of the Commission of the European Communities and as Luxembourg's former prime minister and foreign minister.

During the conversation a broad range of questions concerning the international situation and the state of and prospects for all-European cooperation in the context of Europe's ever-increasing role in the world at the contemporary stage were discussed. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the favorable development of Soviet-Luxembourg relations.

The interlocutors noted that the process of normalizing relations between CEMA and the "Common Market" is proceeding, and that the discussions between the two international regional organizations on a number of all-European positions often takes the form of consensus.

G. Thorn drew attention to the fact that Western Europe is evolving toward a multiracial society, as it were, brought about through the great influx of immigrants from other continents.

A.A. Gromyko expressed the Soviet viewpoint on how to help resolve the basic problems of African, Asian, and Latin American countries: The arms race must be curbed and the funds thus released spent on peaceful purposes, including aid for these developing states.

Restructuring in the USSR, which M.S. Gorbachev has mentioned many times and which is noted in the decisions of the 27th party congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and CPSU Central Committee plenums, encompasses all aspects of the country's internal life as well as its international activity.

As the representative of one of the largest radio and television corporations in Western Europe, G. Thorn stated that the mass media must and can do a great deal to expand East-West cooperation, and this idea is becoming increasingly widespread in EEC countries.

In this context, A.A. Gromyko noted that at present both the mass media and the states themselves must struggle to reduce and completely eliminate nuclear weapons. These weapons have not yet been eliminated, or even banned. The first step toward eliminating them has been taken—the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles—is in operation. This treaty is a tremendously important document. In fact, the task is twofold: to remove the threat of nuclear war, and to improve the lives of the people on the planet. We live in a world where general human interests are coming to the fore, and we cannot fail to take this into consideration.

The conversation took place in an atmosphere of amicability.

A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Robert Bloes, Luxembourg ambassador to the USSR, were present during the conversation.

CPSU Central Committee Plenum

Reportage on 30 Sep Plenary Proceedings

Yazov Returns to Moscow

LD3009065088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0640 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Sep (TASS)—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who has been on an official visit to the Republic of India, returned to Moscow today.

Welcomed by Talyzin

LD3009071888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0655 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newcast; announcer-read report]

[Text] On 30 September Comrade Yazov, who has been on an official visit to India, returned to Moscow. He was met at the airport by Comrade Talyzin and other officials.

Plenum Opens, Gorbachev Speaks

LD3009080988 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) opened in Moscow today.

It is to consider the issue "on proposals on reorganisation of the party apparatus in the light of the decisions of the 19th Communist Party Conference".

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is delivering a report at the meeting.

Personnel Changes Announced

LD3009135188 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee plenum today met the requests of a number of party leaders to be relieved of their posts in connection with their retirement on pensions.

Andrey Gromyko and Mikhail Solomentsev were relieved of their duties as members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Petr Demichev was relieved of his duties as an alternate member of the Politburo, and Vladimir Dolgikh and Anatoliy Dobrynin were relieved of their duties as Central Committee secretaries.

This was disclosed by Vadim Medvedev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee who was elected today a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. He was speaking at a news conference in Moscow.

The plenum took a decision on Central Committee commissions on guidelines for home and foreign policies.

Besides electing Medvedev a Politburo member, the plenum elected Politburo member Viktor Chebrikov a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, while Aleksandr Vlasov was elected an alternate member of the Politburo.

Aleksandra Biryukova and Anatoliy Lukyanov were relieved of their duties as Central Committee secretaries and were elected alternate members of the Politburo.

The plenum relieved retiring Solomentsev of his duties as chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee as well as a Politburo member.

Also in connection with their retirements on pensions, Dolgikh was relieved of his duties as an alternate member of the Politburo and a Central Committee secretary, Demichev of his duties as an alternate member of the Politburo and Dobrynin as a Central Committee secretary.

The plenum endorsed Boris Pugo as chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

Remarks made at the plenum by Gorbachev and Gromyko as well as the resolution passed there will be published in the press. (TASS subscribers will be receiving them shortly).

Commissions Formed

LD3009150288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1340 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From an unscheduled news bulletin: "Decision of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the formation of commissions of the CPSU Central Committee and the reorganization of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee in the light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions"—read by announcer]

[Text] The plenum has considered it expedient to have the following commissions of the CPSU Central Committee:

On questions of party construction and cadre policy—chairman: Comrade Razumovskiy.

Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee—chairman: Comrade Medvedev.

On questions of socioeconomic policy—chairman: Comrade Slyunkov.

On questions of agrarian policy—chairman: Comrade Ligachev.

On questions of international policy—chairman: Comrade Yakovlev.

On questions of legal policy—chairman: Comrade Chebrikov.

To instruct the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to implement practical measures on the setting up of a new structure of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and local party committees, taking into consideration changes in the functions of party bodies in conditions of the deepening of restructuring and the implementation of the reform in the country's political system.

The central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and kraykoms and obkoms of the party, during the course of report-back and elections that are taking place, should focus special attention on questions of electing cadres to the party apparatus and the promotion to this work of comrades possessing high political and business qualities, dedicated supporters of restructuring who enjoy trust and prestige among communist party and nonparty members.

Gorbachev Addresses Plenum

LD3009143688 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking at the Central Committee's plenary session today, said that the Political Bureau had deemed it necessary to convene this plenary session "to consider proposals on matters concerning a political reform and refinement of the structure of the party apparatus, arising from the guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference."

Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that a thorough and all-round examination of the matters had shown that "in view of the change of the party's functions and the rise in its role as the political vanguard of society, there is a necessity to refine the activities of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, secretaries and the staff of the Central Committee of the party. It is only natural that this calls for introducing certain changes to the placement of the leading cadres of the party."

Most of these matters are within the competence of the CPSU Central Committee, which called forth the convocation of this plenary session.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Central Committee had received a request from Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which said that "the only sensible decision for him is to retire."

At the Political Bureau, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said in this connection, we discussed this issue and decided to grant Andrey Gromyko's request. He has been a member of the Party Central Committee for more than 30 years, is known as a prominent politician and statesman. He was elected member of the Political Bureau in 1973 and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1985.

"Generally speaking, it has been a rich political life," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "Today when Andrey Gromyko is retiring I would like to thank him on behalf of my colleagues in the Political Bureau, and I hope the participants in the plenum think the same, for the great work and faithful service for the party and the state, and wish him good health."

Gorbachev Thanks Gromyko

LD3009161488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Report on speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at 30 September CPSU Central Comittee plenum in Moscow—read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades, the Politburo has considered it necessary to call this Central Committee plenum in order to examine the proposals on the matters of political reform of and improvement in the structure of the party apparatus, which derive from the directives of the 19th all-union party conference.

Painstaking and thorough study of these matters has shown that, in connection with the change in the function of the party and with its increased role as society's political vanguard, there is a need to improve the work of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the secretaries, and the apparatus of the party Central Committee. It is natural that this requires certain changes to be made in the placing of the party's leading cadres. Most of these issues are within the brief of the CPSU Central Committee. That, in fact, is what has necessitated the convocation of this plenum.

I shall give the plenum a report on the Politburo's specific proposals on this. But first of all, I would like to report to the comrades that the CPSU Central Committee has received a statement from Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Allow me to read it out:

To the CPSU Central Committee, to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: I have now reached a fair age. As I look back on the path I have traveled in my life, I consider that the only rational decision for me is to retire. I am proud that for 57 years I have been a member of the party of Lenin; for 36 years a member of the Central Committee, and for 15 years a member of the Politburo. Wherever the party sent me, I tried to do my work honestly, as the country's interests demanded. So it was in the system of the

Academy of Sciences; so it was during my work as a diplomat, including my period as USSR foreign minister; and so it was after I was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

I am a committed supporter of the great restructuring of Soviet society and of implementation of the decision made by the party, by its 27th congress, by the 19th all-union conference, and by the Central Committee plenums. It is the duty of every communist and of every intelligent Soviet person to make his contribution to the fulfillment of these historic decisions. I want to march every day in a common rank with the whole party and with the whole people. I cherish the hope that you understand me correctly. Of course the change in my position will not prevent me from fulfilling such duties as may lie within my power in the interests of the party and state. Thank you to the Central Committee, and thank you to you all for the work we have done together for the good of our country and for the good of peace.

[Signed] Andrey Gromyko

Comrade Gorbachev went on to say: We discussed this question at the Politburo, and decided to support Andrey Andreyevich's request. We all know Comrade Gromyko as a major politician and statesman. For more than 30 years he has been a member of the party Central Committee. He has devoted almost half a century to diplomatic work: ambassador to the United States, to Great Britain; representative of the USSR in the UN Security Council; USSR deputy minister, later minister, of foreign affairs. The documents on the founding of the United Nations Organization bear the signature of Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, which he appended on behalf of the Soviet states.

In 1973 Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko was elected member of the Central Committee Politburo, and in 1985 chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. As you can see, comrades, his path through life has been a long one, moreover in diverse and, at times, difficult years. His activites gained recognition both at home and abroad. All in all, it has been a rich political destiny. As the saying goes, there is plenty to reminisce about both for Andrey Andreyevich himself and for all of us who have long known him well. Today, when Andrey Andreyevich departs for his deserved rest, I should like—on behalf of his Politburo colleagues, and I hope that this is the view of the plenum participants too—to thank him for his enormous work and loyal service to the party and state, and to wish him good health. But I think that Andrey Andreyevich will continue to take part in the country's sociopolitical life and give us support with his experience. Permit me once again to express all good wishes to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko.

'Sad' Gromyko Gives Thanks

LD3009162488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Speech by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in Moscow on 30 September—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades, I am, of course, sad that my position in the CPSU Central Committee is changing, but age is a stubborn thing and it cannot be ignored. We have all taken the steps of life—for some people there are more of them and for others there are fewer, but everyone weighs up—and rightly so—what he has achieved for his country, for the people, for the party. And this is what I, too, am doing. I have worked as I have been able to. Everywhere I have felt the support of friends in my work, although times have varied. There have been difficult times, even very difficult ones. We all know this. But infinite faith in the correctness of Marxist-Leninist science and in our great ideals has given me strength in my work.

My thanks to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for the kind words; I am touched by these words. I am deeply convinced that the course which has been taken toward the revolutionary restructuring of the whole life of the country is the only correct and scientifically founded one. I resolutely support everything that the party and its Central Committee are doing to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and the Central Committee plenums.

I express my profound satisfaction in connection with the fact that in our leading collective—the Central Committee and its Politburo—there exist both ideological and political unity. In this collective it is the Leninist principles and Lenin's ideas that prevail. I have deep faith that the tasks set for the country must and will be resolved. Guarantees of this are the heroic deeds of the people, those implemented in the 70 years of history starting with the days of Lenin. I thank you all for the work together, and for your trust.

Gromyko Backs Restructuring

LD3009152088 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—At today's CPSU CC plenary meeting Andrey Gromyko made a speech.

"I feel sad over the fact that my position within the CPSU CC has changed. But age is a stubborn thing and there is no getting away from it," said Gromyko who will turn 80 next year, after his request to retire on a pension was read out.

Thanking Mikhail Gorbachev for his warm tribute, Andrey Gromyko stressed that the "course of a revolutionary restructuring of the whole life of the country, is the only correct and scientifically substantiated one."

"I resolutely support everything that the party and its Central Committee are doing to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, of the 19th all-union party conference and of the plenary meetings of the party's Central Committee, Andrey Gromkyo said. "I express a profound satisfaction with the fact that in our leading collective—the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Comittee of the party—there exists an ideological and political unity...I thank you all for our work together and for your trust".

'Official Communique' Reported

LD3009151288 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 30 Sep 88

["Urgent—Official Communique on Plenum"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—The CPSU Central Committee held a plenary meeting here today.

In the light of the decisions of the 19th national party conference, the plenum considered Politburo proposals for reorganizing the party apparatus as well as some personnel matters.

The plenum was addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Gorbachev told the plenum that Andrey Gromyko asked the CPSU Central Committee for a retirement on a pension.

Gorbachev pointed out the big services done by Gromyko to the Communist Party and the Soviet state and expressed good wishes to him.

(The statements by Gorbachev and Gromyko will be published in the press).

The plenum met Gromyko's request and relieved him of his duties as a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum passed a decision on CPSU Central Committee commissions on the key aspects of home and foreign policies (The relevant resolution will be published in the press).

The plenum elected CPSU Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected Viktor Chebrikov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, to be a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected Aleksandr Vlasov an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected Aleksandra Biryukova and Anatoliy Lukyanov alternate members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, while relieving them of their duties as CPSU Central Committee secretaries.

The plenum relieved Mikhail Solomentsev of his duties as a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Party Control Commission at the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum relieved Vladimir Dolgikh of his duties as an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum relieved Petr Demichev of his duties as an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum relieved Anatoliy Dobrynin of his duties as a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum endorsed Boris Pugo as chairman of the Party Control Commission at the CPSU Central Committee.

After this the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ended its work.

Medvedev Briefs Correspondents

LD3009154488 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—Vadim Medvedev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, described today's Central Committee plenum as "an important step in realizing the directives, decisions and resolutions of the 19th national party conference".

He was briefing correspondents on the meeting's results at the Press Center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Medvedev—who was elected to lead the Central Committee's Ideological Commission, one of several formed at the plenum today—said that contrary to claims of a letup in political work after the party conference, "the CPSU Central Committee has been working hard on matters that have in principle been resolved at the conference, on the issues of reforming the nation's political system and revamping the structure of the party and state apparatus".

The Central Committee has decided in the course of this work that in view of the changed functions of party and state agencies it is essential to upgrade the activities of

the Central Committee itself, of the Politburo, the secretaries and the staff of the CPSU Central Committee perhaps in the first place, Medvedev continued.

Naturally enough, this has called for certain personnel changes in the leadership. Most of these matters are the province of the Central Committee [words indistinct] today's plenum has been called, Medvedev explained.

"The news that it is being convened has sparked off a lot of speculation in the world press over the past few days.

"Conjectures and allegations have been made that there is a crisis in the Soviet leadership and that there have arisen contradictions among its members.

"Things have gone so far that sympathy has begun to be expressed for Comrade Gorbachev and the perestroyka policy.

"I should declare that there are not even the slightest grounds for such claims. Today's plenum has been a natural and essential step in the work of our party, in the work of our Central Committee, an essential step in realizing the decisions of the national party conference," Medvedev said.

He added that the plenum "passed in an atmosphere of complete unanimity".

All the decisions were passed unanimously, this testifying to the firmness of the political course steered by the party, the commitment to perestroyka and the resolve fully to implement the directives of the 19th party conference.

Medvedev: 'Necessary Step'

LD3009161388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. He briefed those assembled on the decisions adopted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, and said in particular:

[Begin Medvedev recording; video shows Medvedev in medium shot on platform; longer range shots show him accompanied by one other unidentified man; journalists in hall] The decisions of the Central Committee Plenum held today are an important step in implementing the directions, decisions, and resolutions adopted at the 19th all-union party conference. Despite certain ideas that have been expressed here and there about some decline in the work, the political work, following the conference, I would like to tell you that the CPSU Central Committee has been and is working intensively on the issues that were decided upon in principle at the conference, on implementation of the reform in the country's political system, and on further improvement of the structure of the party and state apparatus. In the process of this work the CPSU Central Committee has arrived at the conclusion that, in connection with the change in function of party and state organs, there is a need for further improvement, and that first and foremost it is necessary to resolve the issue of further improvement in the work of the Central Committee itself, the Politburo, and of the secretaries and the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee.

It is natural that this has required certain changes in the positioning of forces within the leadership. The majority of these issues are within the brief of the Central Committee, and it is this that has necessitated the convening of today's plenum of the party Central Committee.

In the last few days, the news of the convening of the plenum has given rise to quite a few interpretations in the world press. Certain suppositions and conjectures about a crisis in the Soviet leadership have emerged, and about contradictions having arisen between individual members of it. Things have even gone as far as expressions of sympathy for Comrade Gorbachev and for the policy of restructuring. I must state that there is not the slightest justification for such judgments. Today's plenum is a logical and necessary step in the work of our party and in the work of the Central Committee—a necessary step in implementing the decisions of the all-union party conference. I can add to this, in conclusion, that the plenum took place in an atmosphere of total unanimity. All the decisions of which I have spoken were adopted unanimously, and thus both the firmness of the political course of our party and the fidelity to the course of restructuring, and the resolve to completely fulfill the directions of the 19th party conference, have been demonstrated. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Medvedev then replied to journalists' questions.

Biography of Vadim Medvedev

LD3009151388 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—Vadim Medvedev, who was elected a full member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee at the latter's plenum here today, was born in 1929 near the city of Yaroslavl in central Russia. He is a Russian.

In 1951 Medvedev graduated from Leningrad State University and worked as an assistant instructor and then a senior lecturer there. He has been a party member since 1952.

From 1956 Medvedev was a docent at the Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers and from 1961 he chaired the Political Economy Department at the Leningrad Technological Institute named after the Leningrad Soviet.

In 1968 he was elected a secretary of the Leningrad City party committee. From 1970 till 1978 he worked as a deputy head of the Propaganda Department at the CPSU Central Committee.

In 1978-83 he was rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. In 1983 he was endorsed as head of the CPSU Central Committee's Department on Science and Institutions of Learning.

At the 25th and 26th party congresses he was elected a member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and at the 27th congress he was elected a member of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the March 1986 Central Committee plenum he was elected a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Simultaneously he headed a department at the CPSU Central Committee.

Medvedev is a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He is the author of a number of works on the political economy of socialism.

Departments 'May Be Halved'

LD2909173488 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] As you may have heard in the news, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party will hold a plenary meeting on Friday to discuss structural changes in the operation of the party apparatus, suggested recently by the national Communist Party conference. Our reporter has asked a senior official of the party's Central Committee, Georgiy Kryuchkov, to comment on the agenda before the plenary meeting:

[Begin Kryuckov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The idea is to ensure that the party apparatus operate appropriately to the functions of the party at this stage. There are three principle aspects to the proposed structural change I'd like to dwell upon.

First is the basic principle of the operation of the apparatus that it must be subordinate to elective party bodies. It's been decided that we must rule out situations where the apparatus assume the functions of an elective body, which resulted in members of the apparatus issuing orders to the members of elective bodies. We must put an end to that.

Second, some people have been trying to set the apparatus and the party against each other. Proposals for dissolving the apparatus have been ill-conceived and got no support. Any party has an apparatus to rely on in performing its organizational, political, and educational functions and in carrying out its decisions. That is the purpose of the apparatus and with this in mind the party needs apparatus.

And third, the structure of the apparatus has always been determined by the tasks that the party undertook. At a time when the party assumed the functions of government bodies and effectively replaced them, there appeared in the apparatus appropriate sections in charge of various spheres, which ran against the very nature of the party.

That we have to restructure the apparatus now stems from the fact that the party is now shedding the functions of dealing with day-to-day problems as they arise, because these problems are within the competence of state, managerial, and public bodies. The idea of the structural change is to abandon parts of the apparatus that parallel appropriate government and managerial bodies.

Now the question arises how far the proposed cuts in the apparatus will go. The Central Committee of the party has not considered the idea of cutting the apparatus by so many percent. As I've said, we shall be closing down departments paralleled in the state structure. I believe that the number of such departments in the Central Committee of the party, in the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Soviet republics and in territorial party committees may be halved.

Auditing Commission Chairman 'Released'

LD3009144588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1340 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From an unscheduled news bulletin: "Information report of the session of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission"—read by announcer]

[Text] On 30 September 1988 a session of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission was held and an organizational question was examined. In connection with his retirement on pension, Comrade Kapitonov has been released from his duties as chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

Political & Social

RSFSR Presidium 'Special' Session 3 Oct

LD3009160888 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Russian Federation has resolved to call a special parliamentary session in Moscow October 3.

The session will open in the Grand Kremlin Palace at 15.00.

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

Armenian Presidium Decision

NC2909202488 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Sep 88

["The Decision by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Normalizing the Situation Created in the Republic as a Result of the Incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Sep ARMENPRES—The Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet points out that the situation that has been created in the republic as a result of the incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] continues to remain extremely tense. Unauthorized rallies, demonstrations, and marches are taking place in Yerevan. Work has stopped at a number of establishments and education institutions and operations are being boycotted.

The recent situation created in the republic threatens unforeseen consequences that can throw our people back from all that they have achieved, and isolate our people and cause their retrogression.

The Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet is deeply concerned about the situation that has been created in the NKAO and decisively condemns the instigatory disorders that have had grave conseqences.

In relation to this, a number of deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet have appealed to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to hold a session. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium points out that during the seventh session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, which convened on June 15, 1988, a decision was approved agreeing to the inclusion of the NKAO in the structure of the Armenian SSR. During its July 18, 1988 session, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet studied that issue and adopted a relative decision. Steps are now being taken to ensure the future of the NKAO's economic and cultural development and the elevation of the workers' welfare on the basis of the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The workers' collectives of the republic are actively participating in the implementation of these steps.

A special committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities has been assigned to carry out a comprehensive study of the NKAO's problems, as well as of the proposals made by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet at its July 18, 1988 session, and to present this to the Presidium for further (?study).

In accordance with the decisions adopted at the July 18, 1988 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which are aimed at ensuring [words indistinct] for the organization and coordination of party, soviet, and economic bodies in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh, A.I. Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has been entrusted with all the necessary authority.

In parallel with this, the workers of the republic are expressing anxiety as far as implementation of the [words indistinct] foreseen in the decision approved by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the NKAO. The people are not being sufficiently informed about implementation of the approved decisions, and this is creating favorable grounds for the spreading of all kinds of rumors and exacerbation of the situation.

The Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet has decided:

1. To ask the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to take measures to accelerate fulfillment of the 18 July 1988 decisions concerning "the decisions adopted by the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue," and to study proposals made by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. To ask the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities to accelerate preparation of the report concerning the issues related to the NKAO and to hand this over to the USSR Supreme Soviet for further study.

3. To ask the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums to take the necessary steps to fully guarantee the security of the Armenian residents in Azerbaijan SSR territory, by taking into consideration the fact that the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium undertakes the responsibility to grant similar guarantees for the safety of the Azerbaijanis living in the republic.

4. To agree that, during the next session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, implementation of the decisions by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers by the republic's party, soviet, and economic bodies will be studied.

5. That the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers should assign the republic's people's deputies' executive committees of local soviets to take effective measures to reestablish the normal rhythm of work in production establishments, institutions, and organizations; in education establishments; in workers' collectives; and in public organizations, and to work extensively toward the removal of obstacles in front of labor and the state.

6. That the people's deputies' executive committees of local soviets and the republic's law-enforcing bodies should take decisive steps to ensure the strict observance of socialist law and public order.

[Signed] G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Dated] 23 September, 1988; Yerevan.

Extraordinary Session Denied

NC3009050688 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 28 September ARMENPRES—A number of deputies have applied to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposing that an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet be held.

Following the approval of the 23 September 1988 decision by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, where it has been agreed that implementation of the decisions by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers by the republic's party, soviet, and economic bodies be discussed during the next session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, some of the deputies reported that they agree with this decision and do not insist on the formation of an extraordinary session.

Meanwhile, reports that pressure was put on deputies are being carefully examined.

Yerevan Conference Reported

PM2909112588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 2

[TASS correspondent report: "Ensure Firm Order and Discipline"]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Sep—A conference has been held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in which leaders and secretaries of the party organizations of industrial enterprises and associations, ministers, and chairmen of state committees participated.

The conference was addressed by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

It was noted that a situation has taken shape in the republic which is causing serious concern among working people.

It was stressed that thanks to the measures taken by party, soviet, and economic organs the situation in the republic's economy is improving. The irresponsible calls for strikes are not finding support among the broad masses of the working people, the majority of whom condemn the actions of the firebrands who are calling for strikes. At the same time there have been cases of absenteeism from work in Yerevan, Abovyan, and Charentsavan. The disruption of enterprises' labor rhythm is damaging the republic's economy.

It was pointed out that labor collectives are making efforts to make up the backlog, meet contract commitments to their partners, and establish stable economic interrelations with subcontractors. The earliest normalization of the prevailing situation, the conference said, is a matter of honor for every labor collective, team, worker, employee, and Communist and their duty to the republic and the country.

'Internationalists' Role Urged

PM2909114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 First Edition p 6

[Special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko report: "Refugee Is a Bitter Word"]

[Text] Stepanakert, Moscow—Beneath the wing of the aircraft carrying passengers from Yerevan to Stepanakert lies the piercingly beautiful land of Karabakh. It is hard to believe that there, below us, people are spending the dark nights in a numbed state of tension and that the air is filled with pain and alarm....

"It is hard to take it all in—the events in Khodzhaly, the refugees.... There is no escape from the agonizing pain you feel for the victims of the Sumgait tragedy and when you see the far from childish expression in children's eyes."

...Literally a few hours before the flight, PRAVDA had been contacted by an Armenian from Shusha who had made impassioned appeals a month earlier, calling for reason, patience, and charity:

"I stayed in Shusha as long as I possibly could, as I felt it would be shameful to surrender my position—despite the fact that a large number of Armenian families had already been forced to leave. But my fears for my mother forced me to ask for help.... The lock has been broken.... Help us to escape!"

More than one person will probably smile gloatingly on reading these lines. We are sure of this, because many of those who have upheld their truly international position have come under a lot of pressure from extremists, in Stepanakert and in Shusha.

A tragedy. There is no other word for the kind of situation in which a person who has appealed for reason and charity finds himself face to face with ill-wishers from both camps.

"So where are you, Azerbaijani and Armenian internationalists? So many books and articles have been written and published on internationalism in your republics. Dozens of candidate and doctorate dissertations have

been written on the subject by scientists in Baku and Yerevan. This word has been repeated millions of times in the newspapers, from republic-level rostrums, at rural assemblies. So has it all been only to touch up and varnish the truth?" S. Korotin, a reader from Vilnius, reasonably asked.

There are plenty of real internationalists in both regions: This is confirmed by hundreds of letters. But that is not the point. The point is that the ostentatious but empty phrases on internationalism which prevailed during the years of stagnation have alienated people who share this position.

This alienation has proved extraordinarily dangerous, because the gaps have immediately been filled by a different kind of person. But there are people in Shusha who value the sense of community and internationalism. So why are they keeping quiet?

"Because," someone from Shusha said to us, "the 'brains' in both camps sometimes work on the basis of purely criminal laws: blackmail, brainwashing, and blatant falsification. That is why like-minded internationalists are finding it hard to unite."

A young man recently returned from Afghanistan said:

"I am 23 years old. I have been wounded and given a medal.... We have endured a great deal without faltering, and now everyone is losing their heads. Does this mean that we are weaker than the mafia and the nationalists?"

We know this feeling ourselves—and not just from hearsay. Many journalists whose professional duties have brought them to these parts have experienced pressure. (Again, literally quite recently, the name of one of them came up in this context with the words "hack writer for the gallows").

"We admit that we have failed to create an international front in the region. At first we thought that everything would run its course, then we supposed that order would be brought by the men in shoulder straps. This has not happened. Our political mistake was that we failed to rally the internationalists," K. Mostovtsev, a party veteran from Rostov-na-Donu, wrote.

We will not argue with the veteran. He has hit the nail right on the head, as they say: There is no general international front in the region. Do we lack experience in this respect? Or have we lost it? The main point, however, is that no real attempt has yet been made either in Armenia or in Azerbaijan to create such a front.

Essentially, those who are suited by the whole situation are trying to return us to the arbitrary administrative methods of management and thinking which the party is persistently working to eradicate. They just make demands—"immediately resolve," "cardinal," "radical".... Not the slightest opportunity for real discussion or common sense.

No one has ever said and no where in the press has it ever been claimed that the problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast materialized out of thin air or that their severity has been artificially manufactured. On the contrary, a whole series of party and government documents state the existence of a very serious, painful problem. But this has all been developing over years, decades, even centuries, and the country is now being forced by ultimatum to solve the problem as quickly as possible. Hence the pressure, the acts of provocation, and the extremely tense atmosphere.

One Armenian refugee, a woman taken out of Shusha by servicemen keeping order, flung her arms around an officer: "Thank you. At last!" This was said in such a heartfelt way that it was unbelievably painful to hear: How on earth have we reached the point where a person feels herself to be in a hostile environment in her own native country?

"We have brought into Stepanakert all Armenians who wanted to come," A. Nakleskin, duty officer at the USSR MVD operations headquarters in the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, told us.

"Have there been many incidents in the last 24 hours?"

"Not one. The subunits are efficiently keeping order and offering citizens protection."

This efficiency is clear to see. And, incidentally, it is thanks to the military subunits and USSR MVD operations services that classes have begun in schools and vocational and technical schools, a number of enterprises supplying the population with food are working, and two bus routes have begun running again.

The majority of enterprises, however, were still not at work yesterday. And, frankly speaking, the empty streets are a sorry, even depressing sight.

We met Guseyn Akhmedov by one of the burned-out houses:

"You can see for yourselves what has happened.... I no longer have a roof over my head. But, more than that, I cannot find work. It is impossible in Stepanakert, and in Agdam I am told that my pass is for Stepanakert. A vicious circle. All these events have deprived me of my constitutional right to work."

"So how are you managing to live?"

"Like everyone else...."

Vladimir Ryazanov, a correspondent from the "Vremya" program, recorded this bitter monologue, so you will probably see it on television and agree that the scene is incredibly painful to watch.

So what answer can you give the youth? And who can answer him?

The time for fine words is certainly past. Real internationalism implies action. This is inconceivable if there is no unity among internationalists in the two republics. Party committees must solve this problem without delay. There are people you can rely on! And there are a great many of them. These days more than one communist has frankly said: We are ashamed that servicemen are having to perform the functions which should have been performed by the voluntary people's militia and worker detachments united by international feeling. But there is no other solution at the moment.... Help us to unite.

Opera Square Scene Described

PM2909124588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 2

[Special correspondents A. Konstantinov and A. Sarkisyan "On-the-Spot Reportage": "Opera Square. Our Special Correspondents A. Konstantinov and A. Sarkisyan Report From Yerevan"]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Sep—Opera Square is buzzing, as it was 7 months ago. There would possibly be nothing wrong in this if the rallies were taking place outside of working hours. However, from early morning onward, instead of taking their customary route to work, tens of thousands of Yerevan's inhabitants are now in the habit of going to the Opera Theater, where calls for a strike and for people to act from a "position of strength" can once again be heard. Up to 200,000 people gather in the square in the evenings. There's no empty space at all. Only two cordoned-off areas around the monuments to A. Spendiaryan and O. Tumanyan are left clear. Hunger strikers have settled themselves right on the steps of the pedestals with simple sleeping "gear." A little further on, at the theater entrance, there are dozens of sit-in demonstrators on the broad steps, as if they were occupying the theater boards. The theater walls resemble billboards. What appeals, slogans, and caricatures they carry!

But a microphone hooked up to powerful loudspeakers towers over everything and everyone. This microphone is supposedly available to all, but not everyone could be described as its real masters....

Let us not dwell on Opera Square, we'll come back to it later. Let's see what life in Yerevan is like. Urban transport: There are great crowds of people at the stop. Suddenly a bus turns up, followed by a rare trolley bus. Are the transport workers striking today too?

Lenin Square is cordoned off and armored personnel carriers, lines of soldiers, and militia details stand at the entrance to the square. However, you can cross it, and the residents are not avoiding it. So is the situation returning to normal? Not at all. Even if attendance at the Opera Square rallies drops, it is still premature to talk of a reduction in tension. Talk of reuniting Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] with Armenia has not abated here in all this time. The rallies' organizers are making skillful use of this.

We visited the Kanakerskiy Aluminum Plant. The work rhythm here has not been violated for a minute, although metalworkers are taking part in the rallies. Why haven't they quit their workbenches? Because—apart from their responsibility for their enterprise—if the furnaces stop, all production stands still for 3 months and threatens to cost the collective, which has transferred to economic accountability [khozrraschet] and self-financing, hundreds of thousands of rubles. People at the plant have found their own way to take part in resolving the socioeconomic problems of the NKAO. Plant Director Robert Nersesovich Yengoyan, a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, said:

"Following the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the socioeconomic development of the NKAO, we ourselves decided to take part in implementing this resolution, especially since the plant is in need of expansion. The chief of the production unit and I went to Stepanakert. We made a proposition to the oblast leadership to establish a subsidiary in a village with much free manpower. It will manufacture articles the economy is greatly in need of—aluminum slate [alyuminiyevyy shifer], household foil, and radiators that are in short supply. Moreover, our enterprise will help lay water pipelines and construct a swimming pool and a school in Shosh village; the 'Urartu' cooperative is drawing up the plans and we intend by the end of this year to have allocated more than R200,000 to the new facility...."

We think that it is by concrete actions rather than by specious phrases and irresponsible statements that we can and must move toward the resolution of the problem. The people holding the microphone on Opera Square prefer to issue ultimatums threatening more strikes and the destabilization of society. These are no mere threats. According to local press reports, pressure is being put on urban transport drivers who have gone to work. They are being forced to return to the bus depot. Hence the feverish atmosphere at other enterprises.

Ambitions and the desire for political leadership are gaining the upper hand over sound considerations of public interest. People have frequently resorted to falsifying the facts, interpreting events freely, and sometimes to outright lies in order to reinforce their own positions and ambitions.

...Whether we like it or not, Opera Square has a life of its own. The impulses emanating from there are instantly spread throughout the republic. The people at the microphone are perfectly well aware of this. They hope to hold sway for a little longer over the minds of those people who sincerely believe in the general national interest.

Debate and an open clash of opinions are required. Arguments are needed to take the wind out of the sails—or, to be more precise, the microphone out of the hands—of the new "fathers of the nation." But it is also necessary to work rather than to be polishing one's oratory at the height of the working day. It will not be easy to reclaim the square. But since we really advocate socialist pluralism, we need to be able to listen to one another. This applies equally to the two fraternal peoples. There's been enough confrontation. The Yerevan-Baku-Stepanakert-Moscow television hookup that the public has long been proposing could initiate mutual understanding.

The representatives of a new organization—the "People's Front"—who intend on behalf of the public to elaborate a constructive program of escape from the deadlock, met yesterday in the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences conference hall.

Internal Troops Comment

LD2909195088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Sep 88

[From the "Reports, Interviews, and Commentaries" feature presented by Igor Charikov]

[Text] This is now the 2d week that our bulletins have been carrying alarming reportages from Yerevan. Today of the 227 enterprises in the city, 150 were fully operational; some of the workers are working at 71 and at 6 no one is at work. Law enforcement forces have been brought into the city. Here is a reportage from our special correspondents Leonid Lazarevich and Koryun Khomaryan:

[Begin recording] [Khomaryan] It is now evening and we are standing in Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Square right in the center of Yerevan. This is the pride of our architecture, the pride of our capital. I am now looking at the famed work of our academician (Atumanyan) and, to tell the truth, competely out of keeping with this beautiful building is that armored personnel carrier—a combat, military armored personnel carrier in the center of the city.

[Lazarevich] But this armored personnel carrier and the soldiers standing in the cordon have been needed here in these alarming days. The situation became heated in Armenia and was complicated and unpredictable. And that is why these soldiers came here. They are 18 and 19 years old. Their red shoulder straps carry the two letters V.V.—initials standing for Internal Troops. Here, too, is a group of officers who have come apparently for inspection purposes. Is that so, Comrade Colonel?

[(Ibragimov)] That is quite right. I am Colonel (Muga Magomedovich Ibragimov).

[Strelnikov] Major Strelnikov, political worker.

[Chugunov] Lieutenant Colonel Chugunov, political worker.

[Lazarevich] What used to be called a commissar?

[Chugunov] Yes.

[Lazarevich] Please tell me what tasks are being carried out by the internal troops.

[(Ibragimov)] As is known the internal troops are called upon to tackle questions of maintaining public order. They have come here with the very best intentions to ensure that working people are protected from all possible infringements. We have the appropriate legal bases to do this—the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 28 July on the duties and rights of the internal troops to maintain public order. I must say directly and openly that on the whole the people have given us not a bad welcome and have been friendly. On the whole their hopes are that public order should be brought in as soon as possible and, just as was the case before, the working rhythm should get back on the rails so that people can work freely. There are many examples of kindness from the part of the inhabitants in the billeting of troops; they have been helpful. We are maintaining good relations, patronage relations.

[Lazarevich] It would be better for the commissar to tell us about the patronage relations.

[Chugunov] From the very first day we have had the most friendly relations with the local population. We maintain contacts with the local Komsomol and party bodies, with the collectives of schools, cultural institutions. We hold joint amateur arts concerts. They are giving us lots of help in providing televisions so that people can have normal information about events in the country and abroad. We had no problems in resolving the question of providing the personnel with periodicals. And, on the whole, we meet with complete mutual understanding.

[Lazarevich] Tell me, please, have there been any extreme incidents? The soldiers have said today that they have been insulted and offended. It would seem that such people exist; very few, perhaps but they do exist.

[Chugunov] Unfortunately, such incidents do indeed occur but they are extremely rare. And it must be said that the personnel understand that such attacks are made by those who desire an exacerbation of the conflicts that are taking place in the city of Yerevan and in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[(Ibragimov)] We, on the contrary, want the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Yerevan to be one of overall normality. It seems that the public will come round to this view and we are confident of this.

[Chugunov] There have been cases when we have been asked why we have come here. It seems that people are getting incorrect information via certain channels about the aims of our stay here in Yerevan. Naturally, we explained that we have come to defend public order. We are here to protect the Armenian people and by no means to tackle any illegal tasks with regard to the population.

[Khomaryan] Are your explanations well received by our city's population?

[Chugunov] Undoubtedly there is a mass of people who firmly hold to the positions which they defend and consider that they are completely right in this situation which exists in Yerevan today. They consider that they are fully in the right and that they are acting in accordance with the law and the Constitution. But it must probably be said here that a considerable part of the population have a correct understanding of our explanation. [end recording]

Askeranskiy 'Returning to Normal'

LD2909224488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Here's our special correspondent, Sergey Omelchenko, from Stepanakert:

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] For the 3d week in a row many industrial enterprises and construction sites are idle, with only vitally important enterprises such as the dairy and bread factories in operation. Since public transport began functioning things have been much easier, but unfortunately, there is no transport anywhere in the oblast itself. The drivers are afraid of unlawful actions, despite the fact that military patrols are stationed everywhere on all roads. Here in Stepakanert, strapping young men are gathering together in groups to smoke and discuss their problems, while in the rural areas an intensive harvesting campaign is underway. The harvest this year is a very good one, particularly the grape harvest, which is now being brought it. Since there are not enough adults, school pupils are helping out. At the moment we are in Askeranskiy Rayon of the autonomous oblast. The deputy political commander of the Askeranskiy commandant's office is Major (Aleksandr Viktorovich Sadovnikov).

(Aleksandr Viktorovich), how's the situation at the moment?

[(Sadovnikov)] The situation in our rayon is returning to normal. People are going about their business, though some of them are still displaying mental inertia and continue to take a somewhat prejudiced view of other nationalities, basing their attitudes principally on the events of February and March. The general state of affairs among people is gradually returning to normal. When you go back to the settlements and villages to find out how things are and whether there is any unrest everyone says that they are prepared to live in harmony. Among each people, however, there is a certain group calling for revenge, and it is these people that we are rounding up in order to stop them from conducting such propaganda. But on the whole everyone has returned to their usual business and is living a normal life.

[Omelchenko] In the oblast Internal Affairs Directorate I saw a report stating that of late there have been no incidents of unlawful actions. How are things in your rayon?

[(Sadovnikov)] (?At the moment) we have a large group from the USSR Procuracy at work here thoroughly examining the events which began on the 19th, in particular in the village of Khadzhaly, 3 kilometers from here. I think all those leaders have now been rounded up and the situation is returning to normal.

[Omelchenko] But nonetheless, are you still receiving complaints?

[(Sadovnikov)] Yes, complaints are coming in, but when we go to investigate each specific complaint, it turns out to be a matter of the old inertia—people continnuing to believe in rumors which are being deliberately put about to stir things up. I think there is a need for greater faith and tolerance and for each nationality to behave towards others without prejudice. We are trying to do this...

[Omelchenko, interrupting] And to help them.

[Sadovnikov, continuing]...and to help them. Yes. We are trying to do this, explaining this to people. And they believe us and listen to us. I think that our presence here is stabilizing the situation and that people will believe that they must live in harmony and continue their work. This is a natural desire in every person, every working person, and for that reason the situation here will normalize and gradually everything will get back to normal. [end recording]

Yerevan Rally Adopts Manifesto

AU2909210888 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 29 (AFP)—Armenian nationalists adopted a 24-point manifesto at a mass rally in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, Thursday including a call for representation of their movement in the republic's work places, nationalist sources said here.

About 300,000 people rallied at the Armenian capital's Opera Square late Thursday in a four-hour protest. Earlier in the day, 150,000 nationalists attended another meeting in the square, the Karabakh committee said.

The committee has spearheaded the southern republic's call for the transfer of the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh which includes a majority of Armenians but which has been under Azerbaijani administration since the early 1920s.

Moscow has rejected the demand.

Estonian 'Greens' Demand Saul's Resignation
PM2909151588 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Sep 88 p 10

[Report on interview with Estonian "Green" leader Juhan Aare by Harald Hamrin: "Estonia's 'Greens' a Powerful Force—Mining Project Halted"]

[Text] Tallinn—Juhan Aare chooses his words like a poet. He talks about the heart of Estonian nature [naturen]. He paints a picture of the cradle of nature, from which the Estonian nation draws strength and inspiration. And this heart, this cradle, is being threatened by monopolistic forces in Moscow.

"We are facing gigantic monopolies which are only working for their own profits," he said.

This sounds like a communist caricature of Western monopoly capitalism. In actual fact it describes Eastern monopoly communism.

"We have been brought up to think that it is only capitalism that is driven by a greedy and narrow desire for profits and that this desire for profits leads to the plundering of nature," Juhan Aare said. "Now people here too have begun to look at nature in a new way. They have begun to realize that nature is threatened here too."

In this way the "greens" have grown into a powerful force in the Soviet republic of Estonia—a force that is unwilling to see itself simply as an environmental protection movement, but just as much as an important actor on Estonia's stormy political stage.

And Juhan Aare is the "greens'" undisputed leader in Estonia.

"We intend to take an active part in political life," he said. "We want to see our candidates elected to the Estonia Supreme Soviet. We want to take part in the political decisionmaking process."

As a politician Juhan Aare is new to the Estonian scene. By profession he is a journalist, if not exactly an ordinary one. His "Panda" television program, which is transmitted twice a month on Estonian state television, gave him a platform. His face was well known throughout Estonia.

"In February last year I did an interview with a departmental head from the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers in Moscow," he said. "It was then that I revealed the phosphorite plans."

In Kabala and Toolse, two small communities on the edge of the Pandivere hills in northeastern Estonia, large phosphorite deposits were found at the end of the seventies. The Moscow Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers immediately began to look greedily at the Estonian phosphorites. The plans to exploit them were long kept secret. But in February last year Juhan Aare was able to disclose them: Outside Toolse Moscow intended to extract 6 million tonnes of ore per year in an open-cut mining operation and 12 million tonnes in 100-meter-deep mines outside Kabala.

"It was one thing that the whole project was based on old and outdated technology," Juhan Aare said. "But what was worse was that it would radically change the water situation in Estonia."

Two-thirds of Estonia's rivers rise in the beautiful hills in the uplands around Kabala. And the ore dressing plant, which was planned to be built alongside the phosphorite mine, would consume large amounts of water.

"Then the waste water would be released into the Gulf of Finland untreated," Juhan Aare said. "You do not need to be an expert to realize that this would greatly pollute the Gulf of Finland."

But this is not the end of the sorry story.

Between Narva and Kohtla-Jarve in northeastern Estonia there is a large power station fuelled by shale coal [braennskiffer]. There are now plans to increase the capacity of this power station from today's 3,000 megawatts to almost twice that figure. This would mean that the lunar landscapes of the open-cut shale coal workings would spread further. And air pollution—a difficult enough problem even today—would become even more serious.

"No one has admitted it yet, but simple logic tells me that the new electricity is needed to drive the planned ore dressing plant alongside the phosphorite mine," Juhan Aare said. Neither the ministry in Moscow nor the power station's management cares that the phosphorite has a very low fertilizer value. They are like large monopolies which are only working for their own profits.

And finally a further aspect of the problem: The mining and treatment of this phosphorite and the expansion of the power station would require more workers—or, to put it really clearly, the "import" of thousands more Russians to an Estonia where the Estonians' share of the total population has already fallen to 60 percent.

Juhan Aare recalled with a mixture of bitterness and schadenfreude how he was the target of vehement attacks after he had made his first revelations about these plans in the "Panda" program. Estonian Prime Minister Bruno Saul personally accused him of wanting to "destabilize" the political situation.

"He said that there was no danger, that I was simply trying to exploit my position as a television personality, that I was out to create panic."

But in November last year Saul was forced to admit that there was cause for concern. Now the phosphorite project has been halted for the time being—awaiting new inquiries and a final decision during the course of 1989.

The delay was not of course due entirely to the first television program in February last year. That was simply the triggering factor. After it there was a storm of viewer reactions. Thousands of people wrote appreciative letters to Juhan Aare. Researchers and amateur ecologists threw themselves into the debate.

"People began to look at the world around them and they found that Estonia was in a critical ecological situation," Juhan Aare said. "The air is polluted, the water is poisoned. A generation has emerged which has realized that the ruthless exploitation of nature cannot go unpunished"

In May this year Estonia's "greens" emerged on the scene as an organized force for the first time, with as yet an interim leadership. A proper inaugural congress is planned for mid-November at which a leadership will be elected and statutes and a program adopted.

However, even today the "greens" have 10,000 activists throughout Estonia. They work at the local level, with demonstrations and lobbying.

However, perhaps the most important action that Juhan Aare and the "greens" have carried out is on a different plane. They have shown that it is possible to oppose the powers that be: the party, the government, Moscow.

"When Juhan Aare was given a dressing-down by Bruno Saul at a news conference, we all thought that he was a 'dead' man," an Estonian television journalist recalled. "But Juhan Aare stood up and showed with cold statistics that he was right. And Saul had no answer. It was a demonstration of democracy that we had not experienced previously."

Thus the "phosphorite affair" became the beginning of the end of former Estonian party boss Karl Vayno's political career. In June this year he was forced to resign under pressure from public opinion. And at the end of August Saul was given 60 days to resign by the "greens." If he is still in his post 25 October the "greens" have promised "widespread protest actions" throughout Estonia.

Cooperation Agreement Between Latvia, Sweden

PM2909115188 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 27 Sep 88 p 16

[Ingrid Hedstrom report: "Agreement With Riga Finalized"]

[Excerpt] The Soviet thaw could lead to strengthened business contacts between Sweden and the Baltic republics. A major cooperation agreement between the Norrkoping local authority and Riga in Latvia will be signed in November. "The aim is to develop trade relations between the two regions. We are also hoping for a ferry link between Riga and Norrkoping," said Bengt Bellevik of the Norrkoping local authority's commercial unit.

This year the Soviet republics have been given the freedom to establish contacts themselves in the field of foreign trade. This opened the way for the agreement between Norrkoping and Riga that is now ready for signing after negotiations which have been going on since the beginning of the summer.

Last Thursday [22 September] the Norrkoping Council backed the proposal for an agreement. Valeriy Losin, first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm, confirmed that the Riga City Soviet has also approved the agreement.

In the cooperation agreement the two cities pledge to promote the establishment of a sea transport route for regular ferry traffic between Riga and Norrkoping for both passenger and freight traffic.

In order to promote trade, delegations from Riga and Norrkoping have also negotiated the establishment of trade centers on both sides of the Baltic to increase business and the volume of trade. [passage omitted]

More on Annulment of Stalin Deportation Orders

LD2709091788 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has made a very significant step eliminating the consequences of the postwar Stalinist repressions. The Council of Ministers has annulled the 1949 and 1951 decrees on the deportation of kulaks and their families from Lithuania by ruling that the deportations carried out due to those decrees were illegal and baseless and by rehabilitating all those persons.

According to official data, 108,362 people were deported from Lithuania in the postwar years. A considerable number of the deported people perished in the extremely severe conditions of Siberian exile. A part returned to Lithuania after the denunciation of the Stalin cult, but even here in their own country they had to further endure the brutal force of local Stalinists. Not a few of them have lived in the far away exile up to this very day.

All these people—dead and alive—have at least been rehabilitated. Up to now, single individuals were rehabilitated only on their own initiative.

The new decree of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers touches as well on some other aspects of this painful matter. Executive committees of districts and towns are advised to return or to compensate for the rehabilitated person's property, which was confiscated during the deportation. The minister of the interior is bound to inform the citizens about their rehabilitation. It is evident that the process of the elimination of the consequences of the Stalinist repressions is going to continue. The government has charged the Ministry of Justice with the task of preparing suggestions regarding the rehabilitation of persons who had been deported on other pretexts as well as the rehabilitation of persons displaced for actions hindering the consolidation of the Soviet power in Lithuania.

These would also prove very important acts of rehabilitation, involving dozens of thousands of people. Thus, Lithuania is moving, step by step, to eradication of the very roots of Stalinism, so that it should leave no further trace.

Zaykov Attends Moscow Area Planning Meeting

LD2809101388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] The new draft general development plan for the capital and Moscow Oblast for the period up to the year 2010 is emerging in pertinent and businesslike discussion that takes into account the views of Muscovites.

Progress in its elaboration was discussed at a meeting today of the public council on town planning, in which Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, participated.

Those taking part in the meeting on the whole approved the progress in elaborating the draft. At the same time it was noted that not all leaders have yet absorbed the significance of this priority work. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gosstroy, and Moscow Oblast organisations especially were far from being completely engaged in it.

The meeting also considered and approved on the whole the progress achieved in elaborating the draft for detailed planning of the central part of the capital. Great attention also was devoted to the question of modernizing the house-building sector.

CPSU Leadership Greets Theoretical Journal

LD2909135488 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—The CPSU Central Committee has sent a congratulatory message to the internationalist staff of the "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM" (also known as the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW) theoretical and information journal of communist and workers' parties on the occasion of its 30th jubilee.

"Consistently upholding the ideals of peace, democracy and social progress, the journal has won recognition as an international rostrum for the Marxist-Leninist thought and as a useful instrument for cooperation in the field of theory, exchanges of information and experience in practical activities of the communists", the message says.

"In our days, in the conditions of the complex, contradictory and interdependent world, when unity in diversity increasingly manifests itself in the international communist movement as well, the role of the journal grows still further. A good platform for the refinement of its work has been provided by the collectively elaborated programme for reorganizating the journal's activities. The programme was endorsed in April 1988 by the Prague meeting dealing with the discussion of the journal's work".

The CPSU Central Committee wished the representatives of the fraternal parties in the "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM" journal, its staff and contributors further successes in their work in the name of the cause of peace and socialism, in the creative discussion of acute problems of our times in the spirit of the requirements of world development, in a keen search for new ideas concerning the most topical directions of the struggle for peace, for the survival of humanity, for socialism, social justice, freedom and independence of all peoples.

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 14 Reported

PM2909134988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] "The Party's Policy Is the Policy of Renewal" is the title of the editorial in the latest, 14th, issue of KOMMUNIST.

Academician N. Moiseyev's ideas "My Concept of Socialism's New Face" are published under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience." In the article "Back to the Future" V. Kadulin discusses the experience of the work of Tula Oblast's Yasnogorskiy CPSU Raykom in developing lease contracts in the countryside. Ways of radically reforming the money supply sphere [sfera obrashcheniya] are examined in an article by a group of economists. An O. Latsis commentary is devoted to economic philosophy and the need to make a more comprehensive assessment of large-scale national economic programs.

Current problems of sociological science are analyzed in R. Ryvkina's article "From Civic Boldness To Scientific Demonstrability."

"Readers' Ideas, Arguments, and Suggestions" is the general heading featuring thoughts on Soviet restructuring by the U.S. journalist M. Davidou [name as published] and letters from a worker, labor veteran, power engineering specialist, and teacher.

The journal's permanent "Discussions and Debates" rubric features the article "The Workers' Movement in Search of a Democratic Alternative" and a review of letters on problems of juridical science and practice entitled "On the Paths of Legal Reform."

The "Pages of History" section continues the polemic on the problems of the initial period of the Great Patriotic War. It includes a previously unpublished record of Marshal G.K. Zhukov's memoirs. Notes by historian A. Chubaryan are devoted to the events of 1938-1939.

The nature of the social base of opposition to changes, and ways of overcoming the braking effect on the development of socialist society were the issues at the center of a "roundtable" discussion between Soviet and Polish scholars organized by the journals NOWE DROGI and KOMMUNIST.

The rubric "Modern World: Trends and Contradictions" features an article by A. Antipov on the recent Pugwash meeting.

Critical and bibliographical articles are published, along with a chronicle.

Last Defendant Testifies at Churbanov Trial

LD2909140088 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

Khaydar Yakhyayev, former interior minister of Central Asian Uzbekistan, began giving testimony today, the last defendant to be questioned at the trial of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy interior minister of the USSR, and eight former senior militia officials from Uzbekistan.

During the preliminary investigation Yakhyayev flatly denied any charges of bribe-taking and he has stuck to that stand at the trial as well.

Practically all those in the dock have explained their actions by conditions existing in Uzbekistan at the time.

Yakhyayev, too, said his work there in the'70s "had to be done at a time when interclan struggle was escalating in the upper echelons of power" and the former interior minister of the USSR, Nikolay Shcholokov, "would personally tear up my reports on negative processes in the apparatus of Uzbekistan's Interior Ministry".

People attending the trial have been fairly sceptical of the testimony of the defendants and this could be felt from their reaction such as puzzled noise and sometimes laughter.

The final say, of course, belongs to the court.

Defendants at times have let out something they obviously weren't originally going to admit. When Tashtemir Makhramanov, a former deputy interior minister of Uzbekistan, was being questioned yesterday, he unexpectedly started an acrimonious exchange with Dzhamal Dzhamalov, former Tashkent region militia chief who has been also charged with bribe-taking.

"Have you forgotten how you've got your colonel's rank?" one exclaimed. "You'd better remember how you've got your general's," the other retorted.

Makhramanov, the most emotional of the nine defendants, yesterday suddenly turned to Churbanov and told him: "It would have been better if you, Yuriy Mikhailovich, had kept sitting in the USSR Interior Ministry's Political Directorate (which was a place Churbanov worked in at one time in his 'career'). In that case, we wouldn't be sitting here, all of us."

Moscow Police Briefing Gives Crime Statistics

PM3009092588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 4

[A. Kosulnikov report: "38 Petrovka Street Reports"]

[Text] In a week's time the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department will celebrate its 70th anniversary. A briefing held at 38 Petrovka Street yesterday was devoted to this event.

On 5 October 1918 the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] Collegium adopted a resolution on organizing criminal investigation departments as part of the unified militia apparatus. Criminal investigation departments were to be set up at all province militia administrations and in cities with a population of at least 40,000 inhabitants. An independent criminal investigation subdepartment was also set up in the capital under the Moscow City Soviet administrative department. Within a very short time criminal investigation staffers—and there were 344 of them at the time—eliminated virtually all large gangs in Moscow and the legendary "Khitrov Rynok" ceased to exist.

This is how criminal investigation began. Major General A.P. Bugayev, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration, told journalists about the many glorious pages of its history. But history is history, and the attention remains focused on the

present, on workdays and red letter days alike. And it was the criminal investigation department's workdays—what else?—which were the main topic at the briefing.

It is possible, of course, to cite the week's law violation statistics, although they will only horrify people who come across them for the first time. Judge for yourselves—6 murders, 18 cases of grievous bodily harm, 10 rapes, 64 motor vehicle thefts, and 140 traffic accidents in which 9 people were killed and more than 150 people injured. It would, of course, also be possible to mention curious incidents such as, for instance, the theft of 75 volumes of fiction—one of the effects of the book boom!

However, the discussion at the briefing was not confined to operational matters alone—both the criminal investigation staffers and we journalists are naturally interested in questions of a more general nature. Here is one of them. It is no secret that even the most positive and optimistic reports on crime clean-up rates (and, incidentally, so far they are not all that positive) are by no means sufficient reason for general self-satisfaction. After all, the root causes of violations of the law have still not been overcome. And they have their origins in a different sphere which bears only an indirect relation to investigative work.

For instance, thefts of motor vehicles are on the increase. Why? The answer is obvious: There is a very acute shortage of spare parts. This has been felt in the city and the oblast for a long time. The conclusion is no less obvious. If this shortage is eliminated, the car thieves will find themselves without a market, or it will at least be a much smaller market. But is it really the criminal investigation department which should be resolving this task? Another example is the amazingly, absurdly poor protection of our apartments and even offices. Soviet-made locks can be picked with minimal skill using an ordinary nail, doors can be forced with a slight pressure of the shoulder, and as for balcony doors.... All you have to do is to enter and take what you need (usually this is imported audio and video equipment, and money, of course) unless the neighbors notice that something is going on! But these are just trifles, so to speak. At the Moscow K.E. Tsiolkovskiy Aviation Technology Institute a whole department has been robbed. And all because there was no burglar alarm. As a result the criminal investigation department has another difficult job on its hands, whereas this might have been something that extradepartmental security or even the housing maintenance bureau could have dealt with.

And another point. A.P. Bugayev said that our country aspires to a ranking place...in the humane treatment of criminals! It sounds paradoxical, to say the least, doesn't it? However, facts speak for themselves. Only 20.9 percent of the people detained in the 1st 8 months of the current year were arrested. Most of the others just had to sign a statement that they would not leave the area. And that applies even to people with no fixed address. Yet one in twenty criminals has no fixed address. In my view a differentiated approach is needed here too. Otherwise our humane attitude is worth nothing.

Archives Roundtable on Work Toward 'More Light'
PM2909132388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 2

[Report by A. Mosesov under the rubric "Dictated by the Times": "Archives Reveal Secrets"]

[Text] The desire to know the truth about our history has recently generated enormous public interest in the archives. Many documents frequently kept "behind seven seals" have recently been made public.

But work to return our own history to us has not been seen through to the end. There are still many "blank spots" in the country's annals which have to be eliminated with the aid of archive documents. This was discussed at a "roundtable" entitled "USSR State Archive Open Collection [Fond] and Its Role in Restructuring" held at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. Taking part were leaders and leading specialists from the country's archives.

There was a serious and thorough conversation. The "roundtable" was addressed by directors of the USSR's largest state archives, who described what they intend to do to satisfy the increased attention toward their "treasures." F. Vaganov, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Archives Administration, reported that the archives open collection now contains 340 million storage units, access to 20 million of which is either restricted or forbidden. The main reason for the bans is the keeping of state secrets.

B. Kaptelov, director of the central state archive of the October Revolution, noted that a number of documents on the history of the civil war and the first days of October, to which access was previously difficult or impossible, are being prepared for publication. They include the protocols of the sessions of the Soviet of People's Commissars and the Labor and Defense Council, the archives of the White Guard and White emigre movement, and letters from peasants to the "center," especially on their attitude toward collectivization. The re-publication of the open collection of the Petrograd military-revolutionary committee is also planned.

So far the smallest number of documents to be revealed is at the Central State Archive of the USSR National Economy, its director, V. Tsaplin, said. Previously restrictions affected two-thirds of the open collection, now they affect one-third. No great progress, as we can see. The director explained this by the fact that, in accordance with numerous instructions, the archive gives specialists free access only with the consent of the departments. And they are so far reluctant to take this step. For instance, the USSR State Committee for Statistics is not lifting the ban on consolidated statistics for

the country since 1946. In addition to temporal restrictions, thematic restrictions also operate in the Central State Archive of the National Economy—for instance, the Ministry of Finances "closes" all information connected with the issue of securities.

M. Stegantsev, leader of the Central State Archive of the Soviet Army, reported that henceforth open collections of documents connected with the Soviet-Finnish war and the activity of the white armies are open to specialists. Some 93 percent of all documents on the history of the Army are freely accessible but the majority of them remain uncalled for. There is a similar situation at the USSR Central State Archive of Literature and Art, as its director, N. Volkova, announced. Visitors to the archive are interested only in materials connected with a specific "coterie" of names, without paying attention to other, no less interesting, evidence. Work to open up the open collection of the Central State Archive of Literature and Art is constantly under way. For instance, the rich archive of the well-known philosopher N. Berdyayev was recently "declassified" and awaits researchers.

The "roundtable" showed that the state archive workers are seeking to put into circulation as many as possible of the materials hitherto concealed from unauthorized eyes. This cannot fail to gratify us, for the slogan "More light!" is also topical for archive matters.

Historian Calls for More Symposium Visits Abroad

PM2909141988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from Historian S. Muravyev in Moscow under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication'": "Is It Not Enough To Be a Scientist?"—last paragraph is editorial comment]

[Text] I have some 100 publications to my credit. But circumstances are such that my creative interests are my only connection with scientific establishments; there is no official link. Nevertheless, my work is well known to specialists in our own country and abroad, and consequently I receive invitations to conferences and symposiums concerned with the problems of ancient history. When this kind of event is held in the Soviet Union, I go (at my own expense) and present my own conclusions on my own behalf. I have done this many times already and there have been no blunders so far.

It is another matter entirely if the invitation to a symposium comes from abroad. Our system does not provide for the possibility of private trips at one's own expense (or at the expense of the host side) to take part in events of this kind. In the rest of the world scientists primarily represent themselves and the fruits of their endeavor, whereas Soviet scientists are required to represent the whole of our science or at least an institute.

Twice now I have been forced to turn down an invitation to take part in symposiums being held in France and Italy. Let us suppose that this was the fault of the shortcomings characteristic of the period of stagnation. But at the beginning of 1986 I received an invitation from the GDR Academy of Sciences to a conference of scientists from socialist countries to be held in Berlin in the summer of the same year. Restructuring had begun and I decided to try my luck. For 3 months in succession I went round and round in circles: The Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and back to the Academy of Sciences.... Hopeless.

Last winter I received another invitation to an international conference—in Greece this time, to be held at the end of August 1988. After overcoming a considerable number of formalities and appealing to the highest authorities, I eventually obtained an air ticket from Moscow to Athens and some hard currency. But I could not get a visa. No explanation of the reasons was given.

How is it possible in a democratic state for a citizen to be summarily deprived of his legitimate right, the fulfillment of which does not involve any inconvenience to his country (not even foreign currency considerations)? Who could be harmed by my report on a subject concerning the fifth century to modern times (!) or by an exchange of opinions with colleagues on such distant times? What were the people who decided to ban my trip afraid of—that I would run off? That I would blab something out—at a time when our newspapers are writing about the kind of things people were afraid to mention even in whispers not so long ago?

We talk and write a great deal about people's diplomacy. For some reason this is understood to mean only trips sanctioned from above. Surely it is also possible to develop ordinary visits—without approved lists—by scientists, people in the literary world, musicians, in short, anyone whose work and personality can worthily represent our country and arouse interest abroad?

From the editor: We telephoned A. Novoseltsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences History of the USSR Institute. He confirmed that the author of the letter, Sergey Nikitich Muravyev, is indeed a major scientist and the author of many interesting works on history. His participation in the work of foreign symposiums, in the opinion of A. Novoseltsev, would benefit the prestige of Soviet science.

Estonian Central Committee Plenum Meets 9-10 Sep

Report on 1st Session

WA1800011A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Sep 88 p 1

[ETA report entitled: "Information Report on the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum opened its proceedings on 9 September in Tallinn. Participating in its work are Estonian

Communist Party Central Committee members and candidate members, members and candidate members of the Estonian Communism Party Auditing Commission, the first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms who are not members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, delegates to the 19th all-union party conference from the Estonian Communist Party, chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, party veterans, representatives of the local party aktiv, the first secretaries of Estonian Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms, heads of departments and large enterprises in the republic, and journalists.

The plenum was opened by V. Vyalyas.

The participants in the plenum honored with 1 minute of silence the memory of R. Penu, deceased member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Leyni, candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The following agenda was approved:

1. Tasks of the republic's party organizations in the implementation of the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

2. Organizational Problems.

V. Vyalyas submitted a report on the first item on the agenda.

The report was followed by debates. The following spoke: A. Vyali, first secretary of the Khaapsaluskiy party raykom; B. Moronov, fitter at the Tallinskiy Elektrotekhnicheskiy Zavod imeni M.I. Kalinin political department and deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; E.A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn City Party Committee; M. Bronshteyn, academician, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, department head, Tartu State University; P. Kenkmann, party committee secretary, Tartu State University; S. Kallas, deputy editor in chief of the newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL; A. Ryuytel, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; V. Malkovskiy, first secretary, Narva Gorkom; E. Pyldroos, chairman of the board, Estonian SSR Union of Painters; Ye. Sidorenko, party committee secretary at the Dvigatel Plant; P. Kibe, chief zootechnician at the Estoniya Kolkhoz, Paydeskiy Rayon; M. Kolosov, first secretary of the Valgaskiy party raykom; A. Pork, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium member; M. Yegorov, head of a brigade of assembly men at the Prompribor political department; Yu. Aare, Estonian television commentator; T. Mendelson, chairman, Tartu Gorispolkom; Yu. Paalma, chairman, Estonian SSR Gosteleradio and chairman of the board, Estonian SSR Union of Journalists; E. Kaup, director of the Party History Institute, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; V. Beekman, chairman of the board, Estonian SSR Union of Writers; Yu. Kraft, first deputy chairman, Estonian SSR State Committee for Industry and Estonian SSR minister; A. Almann, Estonian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; E. Savisaar, deputy director of the Maynor Engineering-Design Bureau; V. Udam, first secretary, Pyarnuskiy party raykom; B. Saul, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers; G. Smirnov, party committee secretary, Estonslanets political department; and L. Karu, chief physician, Tartu Clinical Hospital.

Participating in the proceedings of the plenum is V. Babichev, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Organizational Party Work.

The plenum will continue its work on 10 September.

On 9 September, following the plenum's evening session, a news conference for Soviet and foreign correspondents was held. The work of the plenum was described and questions were answered by I. Toome, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, and other participants in the plenum. (ETA).

Speech by Party Chief Vyalyas

WA18000011B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Sep 88 pp 1-3

[Speech by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee: "On the Task of the Republic's Party Organizations for the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The republic's party organization and society awaited the present plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee with particular attention. Above all, this was because it was necessary, in terms of Estonian conditions, to interpret the materials of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee plenum which followed it, and because both party members and the people expect a profound party analysis of the problems which arose both in recent decades as well as in the restructuring period; they are waiting for an honest answer to pressing problems.

Many are those who believe that the present plenum should have taken place earlier. This is indeed so. But try to understand us accurately: We could not hurry with this plenum. The situation demanded out of us realism and a responsible approach; there were too many problems which needed interpretation. On the eve of the plenum we consulted the secretaries of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, scientists, members of the creative intelligentsia, journalists, rural working people, and economic managers. I thank all the members of the Central Committee and the other comrades who expressed their views on the most important problems of our life. A great deal of what they said has been reflected in this

report and in the draft resolution. Naturally, this does not deprive anyone of the right to speak out today as well. On the contrary, the assumption is that this will be done on a mandatory basis, thus supplementing and developing the report.

Today's report submitted by the bureau does not claim to hold the final truth. However, we shall try to express our attitude toward the most important problems of political and economic life and earmark a program for the future. We expect the active participation of those who are attending this plenum. Everyone should clearly realize that both today and in the future our discussion must be frank and honest. It is only together with the people, with all the authorities, organizations, and movements representing the people's interests, that we shall be able to earmark programmatic decisions and implement steps to improve the situation. Briefly, it is clear that the most important thing was precisely that which was discussed at the all-union party conference.

For many decades our people have not displayed such political activeness as they do now. The drafting of a platform for the Estonian Communist Party delegation to the 19th party conference indicated that determining the basic sensitive problems and participation in their resolution bring together all population groups which have become active in social life. This means working for our common interests. Today the absolute majority of the people see one thing as the solution to the developed situation: ensuring the autonomy of the republic and its sovereignty in solving problems pertaining to its people and its land; upgrading the responsibility of anyone who takes part in the policy of shaping the future of Estonia; and the creation of conditions under which everyone can pursue his activities without hindrance and with efficiency.

It is pertinent to recall here M.S. Gorbachev's words pronounced before the closing of the party conference, in the part in which he noted that under the new conditions the party's leading role will be entirely determined by the real authority which, on each separate occasion, must be proven through specific actions. Let this remain our leading idea today as well.

Comrades:

Today the most important task of the republic party organization—the consolidation of all forces interested in the radical continuation of the policy of restructuring—requires reciprocal trust and respect for anyone participating in its resolution. Today we can say to the people that the implementation of the stipulations of the Estonian Communist Party platform has been initiated and must continue through our efforts.

Taking into consideration the commonality of our political and economic life, we need, in order to implement our aspirations, the understanding, trust, and support of the central authorities of the USSR. I can say with absolute conviction that we have them. The confidence which the CPSU Central Committee has in us is not limited to a principle-minded support of cost accounting, an honest depiction of the situation in the past, and the restoration of the role and significance of natural symbols. It is expected of us to provide further radical proposals and engage in intensive thinking about what we describe as the party's course, restructuring.

As far as the fast democratization of society in Estonia is concerned, it has drawn the attention of both supporters and opponents of restructuring in our country as well as on both sides of the state border. This ascribes to the Estonian Communist Party and its Central Committee particular responsibility: to prove both to itself and to others that the democratic structure of social life is not alien to socialism, and that pluralism of political opinions does not threaten our social system or eliminate the leading role of the party in society. On the contrary, the party's course toward a democratic and humane society is a guarantee for strengthening both the socialist system and the positions of the Communist Party.

We must live as a people within a union of sovereign states, within the Soviet Union. Our further cooperation with other union republics must create a true union among free nations. It must put an end to any kind of excessive centralization which denies the constitutional foundations of state-political activities in our country—national statehood. The purpose of all changes taking place in Estonia is to achieve a truly democratic and humane socialism which would ensure high labor productivity and a life worthy of man.

The activities of the CPSU Central Committee and of M.S. Gorbachev, starting with the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, earned in Estonia true nationwide support; paradoxically, the prestige of the Estonian Communist Party substantially declined within that time in the eyes of the Estonian people. In this connection, it would not be quite accurate to claim that our republic's leadership adopted a hostile attitude toward restructuring. On the all-union level the Estonian Communist Party is one of the restructuring frontrankers. Estonia initiated a number of innovations. It appears, however, that the republic's leadership occasionally considered that it was more important to continue to be seen by union authorities as a pioneer. These authorities were far less interested in the real results of all possible experiments and their influence on the living standard and the feelings of the people. We can cite as examples the experiment in light industry, the conversion to the new wage rates, the reform of the agro-industrial complex, and many other sad examples.

The decline in the prestige of the Estonian Communist Party and its leadership over the past year and a half was also caused by the inability of party and government

authorities to become properly oriented in an essentially new and rapidly changing situation. This resulted in the loss of political initiative in implementing the course of restructuring.

The pattern of behavior repeatedly applied by the leading authorities of the Estonian SSR seriously damaged their prestige: Initially, efforts are made to simply deny that a problem exists; then, there is an attempt to reduce its significance; then, shy to admit its existence, and only after a long period of pressure, to begin awkwardly to support the suggestions of the people.

In the autumn of 1980 a group of intellectuals drafted a collective letter to the editors of several newspapers, in which it raised a number of serious problems in social life and drew attention to the alienation of the authorities from the people, the dangerous aggravation of the national problem, distortions in molding the young generation in the bosom of Brezhnevism, migration, and problems of linguistics. This document, which was named by the people "Letter of the 40," should have become a signal of danger to our politicians, an appeal to study the problems and to seek ways to solve them. Unfortunately, a constructive dialogue with the authors of the letter was replaced by fulminations against the document itself, accusations of nationalism and other political sins against its signatories, and even talk of their punishment. Today we are standing face to face with those same problems which, however, have become by now far more aggravated.

During that period there was a great deal of mistrust and a negative attitude toward the intelligentsia, and strong individuals with clear views and positions received no support. Double moral standards were applied everywhere. Today as well it is not the party organizations which are frequently the initiators of awareness, the publicizing of sensitive areas, and a critical formulation of economic and ideological problems.

The restructuring process was initiated by rank-and-file party members, the creative intelligentsia, the journalists, our working people, and autonomous popular movements.

We must express our gratitude to the party and nonparty members who, under stressed circumstances, assumed the political initiative and linked the growing political activeness of the people with the party policy of restructuring, not fearing to turn to the people and to make public the entire truth about painful areas in Estonia, and who helped us to cope with the political stress.

If we in the party continue to be unable to express the interests of the main political and social communities in the republic, independent movements outside the party will appear. As the vanguard of society, we must take this seriously into consideration and strengthen internal party debates. The purpose should be the creation of the type of political programs for activities in which we would express the views of all basic social forces. Otherwise it will become much more difficult to find compromises and to influence political movements. This, however, is the imperative and the demand of our time.

So far our activities have been characterized by inertia of the mind, support of obsolete concepts, and ignoring or unconvincingly reacting to many essentially important suggestions. This adversely affected essentially progressive movements. The time has come when the success of the steps taken by the party is determined not by what or who they are against but by who and what we support and by the extent to which the party will be able, as the leading and guiding force in society, to rally all of our people for the sake of the process, the common denominator of which could be described as unity in our aspiration toward common objectives.

The new political situation revealed the futility of the cadre policy we have pursued so far. Work under the conditions of glasnost and political pluralism demands the ability to efficiently analyze, political cunning, and, above all, the ability to communicate with the people.

The previous cadre policy developed a conscientious apparatus. However, it trained few political leaders who were truly accepted by the people. Now and in the future the party recommends and will recommend for leading positions only the type of party members who have proved and are proving through practical action their ability to independently find their way in the rapidly changing political situation, who are able to ensure the party's leading role in the process of renovation, and who are trusted both by the people and the party. We have no right to ever forget an important truth: It was the party that initiated restructuring and it is the party that is continuing it.

Comrades:

One of the basic stipulations of the 19th all-union party conference was the postulate to the effect that we, as the ruling party, must take into consideration and analyze not only today's political situation but, above all, the profound processes which will determine the situation in the future. Let us briefly describe the most important among them.

We shall begin with the economy.

No integral economic complex was established in Estonia, and there is no policy for its management. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is largely responsible for this, for it has not always made economically substantiated decisions on problems in the placement and development of production forces. Frequently the republic's Council of Ministers and the Gosplan merely obediently approved economic activities in Estonia which obeyed the limited interests of union departments. Yet it is their constitutional duty to ensure the harmonious development of socioeconomic

life in accordance with the interests of the Estonian population and, I emphasize, of the entire population. This resulted in an imbalance and a splintering of the economy. Instead of having an entity, we had a random selection of production facilities with an already amortized base and questionable economic efficiency.

Although it was clear that the possibilities provided by the extensive development of output had long become exhausted, the construction of new enterprises and the expansion of production facilities went on. This was paralleled by extensive immigration, a lagging of the social infrastructure, and the aggravation of interethnic relations. Major economic and political decisions were frequently made privately, without informing the public.

Under the conditions of restructuring the republic's government and Gosplan did not become generators of ideas or their storage batteries. Conversely, initially they openly opposed the idea of republic cost accounting, without studying its essence. For the sake of being objective in this matter, let us say that as early as 1984 the republic's government took the initial steps in this direction but stopped there. The old style of work was retained also in drafting the new system for economic management. The proposal, which was born in the seclusion of offices, became the target of sharp public criticism. At the same time, the following question arose among the people: Is the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government promoting the policy of restructuring?

It is true that both the government and the Gosplan changed their views on both questions. In order to develop the idea of a republic cost accounting, the Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics set up a scientific task force; some elements of the administrative structure were refined. Nonetheless, we note the haste and a certain thoughtlessness in the implementation of both ideas. We are already applying the new structure but we still do not know the tasks that it will be performing and how it will be performing them under the conditions of cost accounting. A number of difficulties have appeared and a great deal remains unclear.

Such activities adversely affected the authority of the government and the Gosplan in the eyes of the people. Despite all efforts, regaining it is quite difficult. The leadership of the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan must realize once and for all that decisions pertaining to all of Estonia must be discussed in advance with scientists, specialists, deputies, and the public.

A people trusts its government only when the government trusts the people. And since the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan are headed by party members, mistrust of them also means mistrust of the party. It is only action that can restore trust and even that is not always sufficient. We must also take into consideration the sociopsychological atmosphere which has developed and which is unusual to us, and which alone, independent of the will or personal qualities of one manager or another, dictates decisions and behavior. The consideration of the sociopsychological atmosphere is one of the features of democracy; no one can earn any kind of trust any longer merely by imposing his will.

But let us be just. The same or, more accurately, double the responsibility for all of this is, above all, that of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

In implementing the resolutions of the 19th CPSU Conference, on 31 August the USSR Council of Ministers issued the order that the Belorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's, the Tatar ASSR, and Sverdlovsk Oblast prepare themselves to convert to cost accounting.

The task force which was created for this purpose was instructed to develop, together with the governments of union republics, a draft resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers, to be submitted by 15 October of this year, which would define the mechanism and the principles governing territorial self-financing and steps aimed at expanding the economic autonomy of republic and local authorities.

That same task force was given the right to recruit scientists and specialists (temporarily relieved from their main jobs) to engage in the comprehensive preparation of the respective materials.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government recommended the participation in this task force of Comrade Otsasok and Comrade Bronshteyn and, for the problem council on Estonian cost accounting, Comrade Savisaar.

Economically unsubstantiated relations with union departments worsen supplies to the republic's population in food and domestically produced consumer goods. In order to leave such a situation behind, initiative and consistency must be displayed by the republic's leading authorities in changing one-sided command relations with union economic authorities. Thorough order must be applied in the confused distribution relations. It is abnormal for items we produce to be allocated arbitrarily and, furthermore, as a rule, without our knowledge. The republic's government and Gosplan must pass on our corresponding proposals through the central authorities. It is entirely clear that the price policy, which was discussed on the eve of the plenum and even earlier in quite serious terms, needs a radical reform. Without bringing order in this area the problems I have already pointed out cannot be solved.

An entirely new approach is needed to solve the crisis in the nonproduction area. Based on what was said at the 19th party conference, we are forced to note that, as in

the past, priority development of the social area essentially ends with statements. Our economic and production managers must clearly realize that education, health care, and social insurance have become factors which largely determine success in material and spiritual production. Above all, we must guarantee changes in investment policy, increasing that share of the national income which will be channeled into the development of public education, health care, and social insurance in the next few years. The time limit allocated for this report does not allow me to dwell on this thought in detail. I can only mention to the members of the Central Committee and the participants in this plenum that the value of education, in the broadest possible meaning of this term, as well as health care, will become in the years to come one of the main areas of activity of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. I reemphasize the value of education, in the most direct meaning of this term.

In economic management as a whole, self-control mechanisms are beginning to play an increasing role. It is very important, therefore, that a clear status be given to the social area within the overall context of development of the national economy, so that the developing self-regulation does not begin to act against the interests of the social sphere. This is a serious problem which requires very thorough study.

It is an unquestionable fact that in recent decades the quality of our life has been steadily worsening. We cannot promise a quick turn for the better. Along with restructuring the time has come to create a humane environment and ensure essential changes in the spiritual atmosphere. A great deal is being said in our country about environmental protection and upgrading the living standard but, naturally, the objective must be a moral, healthy habitat for man, an environment in which we live and would like to live.

Naturally, more than anything else the working person is irritated by empty shelves. This is a very alarming problem. No exceptional measures would immediately improve the situation. A critical analysis of the results of the implementation of the Food Program indicates that so-called cosmetic repairs are being made in the Gosagroprom, the Ministry of Trade, and the Estonian Republic Union of Consumers' Societies [ERSPO], instead of a search for radical solutions.

The tasks formulated at the 19th party conference demand sensible nonstandard approaches to the solution of the food problem. Traditional ways and means of work have exhausted both the historical experience and their own possibilities. The experience of the past few years proves that the best way to solve this problem is to surmount the alienation of the peasant from the land and restore his ownership rights. In the countryside we must immediately create equal conditions for all forms of production and all producers, big and small. We must guarantee by law equality among all forms of ownership. As was quite accurately pointed out at the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we must repay our debt to the countryside.

The Gosagroprom will not solve the Food Program by itself. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau believes that agriculture must become the main economic priority of the Estonian SSR in the next few years. This means that we must largely consider the entire development of the national economy through the lens of agriculture. Let this be heard today by all of our rural workers.

It is not excluded that under the conditions of the economic reform even greater difficulties with procurements may arise. The solution to the developing situation rests largely in our own hands, above all in the hands of the local soviets, the Ministry of Trade, the ERSPO, the Gosplan, and the republic's Council of Ministers. It depends on them whether or not our commodity resources will increase. But let us be frank: One can distribute only that which has been produced and the basis of all this is, once again, our labor and its results.

Let me say a few words on the implementation of the Housing Program-2000. The leadership of each city, rayon, enterprise, farm, or establishment must realize one simple truth: We have no moral right not to satisfy one of the most important vital needs of man, his constitutional right to housing. This pertains to many people, above all to our young and our young families. Furthermore, the housing program must be linked even more closely to the program for the development of the entire social and cultural area. Otherwise all talk about the complex build up of our cities and rayons will remain idle talk. Our construction potential is relatively limited. For that reason the entire construction program must be developed in close cooperation with the deputies of the local soviets. Let the population itself determine what, where, and when to build. Bearing restrictions in mind, we will inevitably have to choose. Let those for whom we are building make the choice. However, we must also point out that this constitutes an instruction to our construction builders, to anyone who manages our construction policy.

I would have liked to discuss in greater detail all such problems of concern. However, the time allocated for this report, unfortunately, does not permit me to do so. I hope that the speakers will discuss problems of the social area in greater detail and submit constructive, I emphasize, constructive proposals as to how to solve them.

In circumstances in which the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party was losing the confidence of the people, on the initiative of party members last April a new movement developed: the Popular Front in support of restructuring. From the very beginning, the Popular Front proved itself to be an active social force. The steps

which it has taken so far confirm the inner standards and discipline of the people and their readiness for true democracy, without which political freedom is inconceivable. We have no reasons not to trust the individuals, the people rallied in the Popular Front.

We realize that the Popular Front is a social movement in which there are many party members in the ranks and leadership. This movement makes it necessary for the party and state authorities to take into consideration public opinion which has a healing impact on social political life. The newspapers published the Popular Front program and charter. Unquestionably, the discussion of these political documents, which are serious and important to the people, will assume an even broader scale than it has so far. Understandably, the party members who participate in the Popular Front and the primary party organizations and committees must not remain aside. At this plenum as well we would like to hear the views of the comrades on their projects.

The Popular Front has great potential for participating in the formulation of programs for renovation, the development of the political standards of the people, and strengthening the positions of Estonia in the all-union restructuring process. The Popular Front could help us avoid errors in the ever more complex social life. The authority and conscientiousness of the people must become factors which will motivate various forces to seek common solutions rejecting private and group interests, personal ambitions, propensity for cheap popularity, the fanning of passions, and the formulation of politically hasty demand ultimatums. Such tactics cannot be accepted as correct by the party.

With the one-party system which was historically established and consolidated in our country, M.S. Gorbachev said at the 19th party conference, we need within the party and the society a permanently operating mechanism for comparing views, criticism, and self-criticism. Under the conditions of growing democratization this is a vitally important problem. In practice this means that the political guiding role of the party is implemented through the party members who participate in such movements and in the direct and honest formulation and explanation of essential party positions. This is a programmatic requirement for all party members without exception.

Comrades: In the course of restructuring many problems related to the vital interests of the people and social justice became pressing. Frequently various social groups have seen and understood them differently. This is natural. However, we do not always have the necessary patience and tolerance to listen and take into consideration other people's views.

The attitude toward the past of the Estonian people, the country's and party's history, and particularly its tragic and bitter pages, is one of the hotbeds of stress. A variety of opinions have been expressed and passions have raged on this topic. A great deal of questions have piled up demanding an answer. Too many semi-truths and lies have been fed to the people in the course of these years.

The 19th party conference did a great deal of work to shove such accumulations aside by providing principle-minded assessments for many sensitive areas in our history. The conclusions of the conference will help us to restore the truth and to surmount the legacy of Stalinism, this anti-human phenomenon.

A very great deal was said about accomplishments. Today attention is focused on what was negative and what, during the period of stagnation, was the subject of attempts to ignore either as nonexistent or to present it in a positive light. The only way to abandon the one-sided understanding of history is to make public the entire truth, and to get rid of spasmodic efforts to justify Stalinist domestic and foreign policy. The study of the painful aspects of Estonian history should be undertaken in the spirit of the best traditions of our historical science, rejecting both glossing and unjustified blackening of historical events and personalities. Something has been clarified in connection with the events of 1918 and the Tartu peace. Material related to the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the events of 1940 in Estonia have been made public. Having condemned deportations, we shall continue to work to restore the honor of the victims and to compensate for the moral and material harm they suffered.

Exile, as an extrajudicial criminal punishment imposed administratively, was illegal. In order to eliminate the consequences of repressions committed during the period of collectivization of agriculture in Estonia, the republic's government has annulled its decrees and resolutions concerning deportations which were carried out between 1947 and 1957. This includes the 1947 "On Taxation of Private Farms in the Estonian SSR" and the March 1949 resolution on expelling from the republic kulaks and members of their families. The gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms must also annul the corresponding resolutions passed by the then district executive committees.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have appealed to the union authorities with a proposal to proclaim invalid union laws which were grounds for exile and to consider them illegal and anti-humane. This will mean the rehabilitation of all people who were illegally exiled, with the legal consequences stemming from that fact, including compensation for damages suffered as a result of the forced expropriation of their property. In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution and, on its basis, the instruction issued by the USSR Prosecutor General, the court and prosecution authorities must consider all criminal cases of individuals sentenced for counterrevolutionary crimes in the thirties, forties, and fifties, regardless of whether or not proper petitions have been filed by them

or their relatives. This is a major and very responsible project. It is self-evident that in this connection there can be no acquittal for those whose anti-social or anti-humane activities were proved.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee also cruelly suffered from Stalinist arbitrariness. Repressive measures were adopted in 1937 and 1938 against virtually the entire party Central Committee leadership which was in the Soviet Union. After the notorious Eighth Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee which took place in 1950, all the old party cadres who had been born in Estonia were accused of nationalism and subjected to repressive measures or else fired. The honest name and place of these party members in history must be fully restored. This is already taking place.

We must also seriously consider the proposal of perpetuating the memory of the victims of Stalinism. The State Committee for Culture, which was created recently, our cultural public, and all of us should assume the role of pioneers in this matter. I do not think that we mandatorily must build pompous monuments. It has been suggested to erect in the center of Estonia stone burial mounds or else to plant a memorial grove. The most important thing is the memory of the people. Such proposals must be considered; not only considered, but also implemented.

Although the distortion of Estonian history and many crimes committed at that time were initiated not in Estonia, as it has in the past the Estonian Communist Party does not refuse to assume responsibility to the Estonian people. A noted role in this was played by Estonian communists and the official view on history was adopted by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. The truth must be restored. We are doing this so that our descendants will not have to redo everything anew, and we are doing it honestly, with a feeling of total responsibility to the people.

Nonetheless, we cannot agree with some lightweight evaluations which question the legitimacy of socialism in Estonia. It is true that the years 1939 and 1940 were very dramatic, including in Estonia as well. But let us recall that taking the path of socialism and unification with the Soviet Union were some of the basic requirements of the then program of action of the Estonian Communist Party. The natural aspiration of the people for a more democratic and humane way of life legitimately had to bring about a radical social change in Estonia. It is also clear that this change was accelerated and defined both by the domestic and foreign political situation. It is equally clear as well that the hope for a more democratic social system remained, under the conditions of the Soviet system as well, merely a hope during the first years. We are convinced that all of the main problems of Estonia can and must be solved within the united family of sovereign union republics, in the course of the revolutionary changes which are occurring in the Soviet Union. It is obvious, however, that our past demands serious and honest studies from the scientists. We can become strong only by relying on the truth!

I particularly wish to mention here something about the veterans. We deeply respect them as people who are experienced and socially active. Under present circumstances, obviously it is more difficult than anything else psychologically to overestimate their value. This is understandable from the human viewpoint. Unfortunately, their attitude regarding one present phenomenon or another is based precisely on the positions of the past. Occasionally this is accompanied by words about patriotism and internationalism. However, these words are being said honestly, from the heart.

A critical reassessment of the past does not mean crossing out human destinies and past years. Anyone who selflessly worked and defended our homeland from the enemy deserves profound respect. The weighty words of the veterans are needed for restructuring as well. Their rich practical experience helps us to soberly assess present accomplishments and protects us from errors and blunders. Each people and nation has the sacred custom of revering their parents. Let us follow this example.

Another basic problem of our political life today is that of the Estonian people and the state of their culture and future.

The 19th party conference indicated that a beginning has been made in the interpretation of relations among nationalities in the spirit of Leninist national policy. In national politics we must clearly realize the line at which the just defense of the interests of one nation or national group stops and where scorn for other nations, national limitations, nationalism, or chauvinism begins. In our press, both in the Estonian and Russian languages, it is frequently quite difficult to sense their borderline. They throw each other from one extreme to another, from abundant praises of friendship among the peoples to the enumeration exclusively of errors and manifestations of national injustice.

Let us be self-critical and admit here that not in the distant past but last December, at a meeting of the republic's party aktiv and in the speeches and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee letter which was sent to the primary organizations afterwards, there was a great deal of unconsidered statements, and evaluations which did not coincide with the basic concepts of Leninist national policy were included.

All of this had an influence on public opinion. It was under the influence of these and other factors that national relations in Estonia became aggravated. Political responsibility for this falls above all on us, the party members. Above all, we must define the basic party positions in terms of the specific conditions of present-day Estonia. Most likely, there are three of them. First,

we have the Estonian SSR, a sovereign national republic, and Estonians as the native nation of Soviet Estonia. What follows from this? Above all, no single major socioeconomic measures can be implemented if its national-ethnic consequences to the Estonians are ignored. Hence the considerable number of basic prohibitions which protect the interests of the native nation: Estonians must not become a national minority on their own territory; the Estonian language must in no way be limited as the language of documents on Estonian territory; and no economic activity which harms the interests of the native nation and the stable population and which worsens the ecological situation of Estonia must be admissible.

Second, the Estonian SSR is part of the USSR. Its development is based on equal cooperation with the other union republics and normal relations with the foreign world. A union treaty, which legislatively defines the rights and obligations of union republics and which ensures a transition to a state of law based on socialist legality, must become the foundation of such cooperation. A union treaty must set the legislative foundations for the sovereignty of all union republics and the principles governing the entire governmental structure.

Third is the right and opportunity of everyone in a state institution to conduct his affairs in Estonian as well as in Russian. Any national discrimination must be excluded. If necessary Ukrainian, Belorussian, Finnish, Armenian, or any other national cultural centers must be created. All of this must be carried out, naturally, on a strictly voluntary basis, and it is only initiative from below that could be determining in this case. On the other hand, all schools functioning on the territory of the Estonian SSR must teach on the basis of republic curriculums and provide training in Estonian language, Estonian history, Estonian literature, etc. This will also help to develop among the members of other ethnic groups a permanent population contingent which would be integrated within Estonian life, would consider Estonia as its homeland and as part of the great Soviet homeland, and would actively participate in the affairs of its rayon, city, or all of Estonia. It is only thus that true prerequisites can appear for mutual understanding among nations and internationalism in the most direct meaning of this word.

Those who consider improper economic, social and political decisions a threat to the future of Estonia and the Estonians are right. As A. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, said, we must recreate the mechanisms which ensure the status of union republics...and their economic independence and determine the nature of relations between the union and the republics, consistent with contemporary requirements and with the future, in order to eliminate the numerous existing inconsistencies. Under conditions in which further migration threatens to turn the Estonian nation into a minority on its ancient land, the Estonian Communist Party and all party members must struggle against unjustified migration. Like all other nations, Estonians have the right to their territory, in which they have always lived. The various rumors of the possibility of separating northeastern Estonia and attempts at pursuing a dishonest policy on national grounds are politically irresponsible. Such a political game has nothing in common with Leninist national policy.

Unfortunately, we must admit that the administrative steps taken so far to stop migrations have not been entirely effective. Clearly, the republic's government and the local soviets must decisively adopt the already formulated steps and look for new ones.

We can report today to the plenum that the government of the Estonian SSR has addressed itself to the central union authorities with a petition to eliminate the benefits awarded so far to many categories of residents who move to Estonia. Life has convincingly proved that the stormy influx of population does not allow the solution of a single problem which is painful for Estonia and is equally unacceptable to anyone who lives on this territory, regardless of his ethnic origin, but can only considerably aggravate such problems. The view of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee on the problem of migration is simple and entirely clear and has already been formulated.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee considers problems related to the demographic situation quite important. The situation can be improved only with a scientifically substantiated set of measures. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has proposed to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to draft, with the active participation of scientists and the public, a concept for the demographic development of the Estonian SSR until the year 2015. The steps which will be taken on its basis should be such as to ensure a controlled change in the situation which would be satisfactory to the people.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau believes that establishing Estonian SSR citizenship is a very important step in developing a stable Estonian population. This will increase the responsibility of the republic's population for the development and the future of its native area. Citizenship does not at all mean singling out or separating from other Union republics and does not affect the fundamental rights of citizens, whatever their nationality. We consider it natural that the affairs of a labor collective are solved above all by those who have proved themselves as patriots of this labor collective. Why should the same not apply to a union republic as a whole? This is a question of social justice for those who have linked their lives with the Estonian SSR. The institution of citizenship is necessary for the further democratization of social life and the solution of many painful problems of economic self-management and true sovereignty. In building our future

we shall be able to rely above all on those who are able to make practical decisions with the knowledge that their decisions affect their own future as well.

The position held by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the matter of the status of the Estonian language is entirely clear. The Russian language is a language of communication among nationalities of the peoples of the USSR and every citizen must, I repeat, must, have the possibility, in any part of the Soviet Union, to conduct his affairs in that language. The Estonian language, however, must be the state language of the Estonian SSR, and Estonia must have the possibility of conducting all affairs in the Estonian language. Naturally, the position of the Estonian language is set on the state level. The following suggestion has been submitted to the plenum: If you support these positions of the bureau on matters of the status of the Estonian language and citizenship, we could recommend that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium comprehensively consider them, seek the advice of the people and, subsequently, submit the matter for discussion at the next session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, which can pass the corresponding resolution. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and its deputy groups, together with scientists and representatives of the public, must take steps also to reflect these concepts in union legislation, which is currently being drafted, and in the republic's constitution. In this case, as is done in any democratic and civilized country, we must note that it is entirely clear that with the establishment of a state language no restrictions whatsoever should affect the rights of citizens of the Estonian SSR. This would be unacceptable on the basis of our democratic principles. It would be not only illegal but a shameful act should we allow any such thing to happen. This is impermissible.

We realize that the national problem is very delicate. Stalinist arbitrariness toward the Estonian people should in no case be used as a justification for our own, regardless of the form in which any scorn for other nations may be manifested. In this case any exacerbation of national intolerance and playing on emotions is totally inadmissible. As true internationalists in the straight meaning of this term, we must, unfortunately, note that we have devaluated the great Marxist significance of this word. We must realize that the fundamental interests of the entire population of the Estonian SSR coincide in the course of the restructuring process. Therefore, we shall try, all of us together, to open for ourselves present-day Estonia.

We hope that the forthcoming forum of the peoples of Estonia will help to consolidate the republic's population and enable us to reach constructive suggestions which would ease the tensions which have appeared.

We must totally exclude the possibility of internal party groups based on national grounds. In the party all of us are united by the fact that we are like-minded. We are united by Marxism-Leninism. No single purely nationally oriented social movement in the republic should have the support of the party members, regardless of how high-sounding its name may be, including calling itself international.

Obviously, it would be necessary to set up within the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet a permanent commission on inter-nationality relations which would assist in the implementation of the Leninist principles of national policy both in our republic's legislation and in the daily activities of the state authorities.

Nor do we support movements and associations whose activities could intensify mistrust among nationalities and promote discord and alienation. Unfortunately, the activities of such movements in Estonia are a present-day reality. Should their dangerous manifestations continue, we would be forced to stop them through the law which prohibits the kindling of national enmity. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau believes that we should set up a task force with the republic's scientists and Estonian Communist Party Central Committee members and practical workers which would formulate comprehensive suggestions for the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will deal with national relations. Above all, in this area we must legitimize the rights and relations among nations, national minorities, ethnic groups, and people of different nationalities. This work must be conducted in an atmosphere of comprehensive glasnost and provide a platform which would enjoy the support and trust of the entire people, as was the case on the eve of our party conference. At this point I would like to make yet another subjective remark. In the talk with M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in the course of which problems of Estonia were considered, we spoke of matters pertaining to relations among nationalities and the national problem. It was noteworthy to hear the view expressed by Comrade Gorbachev on such matters. Realizing the existing situation, he said that one of the greatest riches of the Soviet Union is our multinational society, the variety of our nations, national cultures, and national languages. It is a permanent value for which everyone of us is responsible and which we must develop. Anything which would harm this is condemned by the party. Allow me to share these words with you.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee considers as thoroughly justified the view of the scientists and the public on establishing for the republic a time zone. The Estonian SSR Council of Ministers has already submitted a second petition to the central authorities. Unfortunately, some union departments, Gosteleradio above all, defended their own departmental interests and did not support this suggestion. Currently the Soviet Government is considering a new proposal submitted by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government on this account. We hope that our position will be understood.

The third problem which triggers a great deal of mental ferment in Estonia is related to the conversion of the republic to full cost accounting.

Soon it will be 1 year since the day when the idea of converting the Estonian SSR to full cost accounting appeared in the newspaper EDAZI, and became known as the "proposal of the four." Clearly, at this time this idea reflects to the greatest extent the aspiration of the people for a specific positive program which takes local conditions into consideration. Initially the party authorities remained altogether uninvolved in the discussions which flared up. Furthermore, at first the idea was welcomed with mistrust by the party's Central Committee. Although no official negative resolution was passed, the fact that the republic's leadership was rejecting the idea became widely known and greatly complicated relations between the party and the people. Under the pressure of public opinion, despite its negative attitude, the Council of Ministers had to issue an order on the creation of a scientific task force to develop the concept of regional cost accounting. The problem council on Estonian regional cost accounting is also actively participating in this project.

At the present time the idea of full cost accounting in the Estonian SSR has become a programmatic stipulation of the Estonian Communist Party, which was reflected both in the platform of the Estonian Communist Party at the 19th all-union party conference and in its resolutions. What is important is that we consider republic cost accounting a means of strengthening the USSR as a whole. By raising the relations between union republics to new, more even and equitable standards, the unity of the Soviet Union will be strengthened. At the same time the responsibility of the republic will increase. What awaits us in the future is not heavenly feasts but, above all, very intensive work.

The concept of republic cost accounting, as I already said, is being developed. Now it is important to discuss it with the participation of the public and to formulate the necessary draft directive documents. The party's Central Committee considers that any haste or superficiality in solving this problem would be inadmissible. We must draft an integral project which would be consistent with the expectations of the people. The principled view held by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee on this problem is expressed in our platform for the 19th party conference and in our subsequent talks on the governmental level and on the level of the party's Central Committee.

The party's Central Committee draws the attention of all party organizations and party members to the tremendous responsibility which is being entrusted to us in connection with the cost accounting project. In this case we must display a maximal feeling of responsibility and try to involve all available forces in the republic, avoiding anything that is personal as well as any hasty political steps. In this area the people will not forgive us an attitude of pettiness and errors which would make more difficult the conversion of the republic to true cost accounting.

Democratization is the fourth most important political problem in Estonia. The 19th CPSU Conference gave a new impetus to the democratization of our social life. The slogan "All power to the soviets!" means today that the party rejects the monopoly of power which had developed in practice and deliberately places its own political authority under the control of the people. I beg that this idea be properly understood. It does not mean in the least that the party is abandoning its leading role or that this role in society will be changed. This neither could nor should take place. Not only the party committees but also the soviets will be making political decisions affecting the given territory.

Problems of democratization appeared in Estonia above all on the grounds of civil rights and freedoms. A big step toward truly ensuring freedom of speech and conscience, of assembly and demonstrations has already been taken. However, extensive work remains in providing the republic's citizens with legal guarantees in their relations with state authorities, including in our republic. Taking the real situation into consideration, we must refine and supplement many stipulations of the Estonian SSR Constitution. Let me emphasize here that we must humanize relations among people. Every communist has the duty to strengthen the moral principles in politics and social activities.

The development of social and civic initiatives is a major trend in democratization. This was precisely the stumbling block encountered by many managers during the initial period of restructuring. In their view, any initiative, any undertaking which did not come from above, was inconceivable.

This should lead us to serious conclusions. We must not ignore what the people think about or even accuse them of something for which we are to blame. We party members must as yet provide answers to many questions and find ways of surmounting the difficulties accompanying our development. As reality has indicated, we must learn the art of making political decisions and combining a variety of interests and views. No particular wisdom is required to create an opposition and lead matters to an impasse. Any constructive idea can only be welcomed. Making use of the party's leading role in society, we must help the implementation of initiatives which have earned the support of the people and react to warning signals.

We must abandon the essentially false and dangerous idea that the party must keep up with everything. Hence the other questionable conclusion: Wherever the party does not keep up, the enemy does. That is precisely what explained the appearance of many social movements and the corresponding attitude toward them. To this day

there are many people who believe precisely the following: If something appears outside the party, without instructions and coordinations, it must be something questionable. Such was the initial attitude toward the Popular Front and the "Green" movement. A wall of mistrust arose. We ourselves are to blame for this.

The new movements are oriented toward eliminating the painful areas in our society. Essentially they are progressive and we must develop a fruitful cooperation with them.

We must let social life organize itself in precisely that fashion, for at the present time this can be accomplished by the people on the basis of local conditions. At that point the people will help us and we shall be able to concentrate our attention on what is most essential.

Fifth. The new domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU increased the opportunities for our international contacts. In Estonia this is noticeable in many things. Our relations with the peoples of north, East, and West Europe have age-old traditions. In the past foreign relations maintained by citizens and organizations of the Estonian SSR were relatively closer than elsewhere. Today we can add to this the increased interest in Estonia shown by foreign citizens and firms.

In the past year alone the number of trips taken by our people abroad has increased several hundred percent. Contacts are being developed between the population of Estonia and relatives and friends abroad, as well as cooperation with foreign firms in the areas of economics, science, and culture.

The party is pleased with the development of such relations and supports all contacts whose purpose is friendship, cooperation, and struggle for peace. We support all agreements which help to modernize the republic's national economy and develop its culture. Cooperation with foreign firms is a true way to surmount technological lag and emerge on the world markets. However, we must realize our position and possibilities in this process. The special interest shown abroad over Estonia stems, above all, from our domestic political changes. The people abroad see a good opportunity for investing capital and hope to find good business partners. However, the foreign businessmen are offering their hand by no means out of altruistic motivations. They come here to earn profits. We must be quite smart and businesslike partners and approach with a feeling of maximal responsibility each concluded deal and each promise and, in turn, obtain maximum benefits from this. We must act in the interest of the people. This too is one of the prerequisites for the creation of a cost accounting Estonia. This requires specially trained and capable cadres, whose training must be immediately undertaken.

Allow me to take one subjective aside. When we speak of relations with Estonians abroad we must clearly bear in mind one aspect; namely, that these people are interested in the fate of their homeland, i.e., Soviet Estonia. I know from personal experience that nostalgia does not decrease with the years but intensifies. It is precisely this, the wish to serve their native land and people, that must constitute the foundation of our constructive cooperation. May we all have the necessary political wisdom for this, attentiveness, and the ability to make decisions.

Today our science and culture are ready for international cooperation and competition to the highest extent. The party members in the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, the VUZ's, and the State Committee for Culture must now show proper scope and enterprise in order to independently broaden cooperation in the interest of the development of our entire country.

The party's restructuring policy has provided new opportunities for communicating with Estonians abroad. We are on the way to eliminating the barriers of reciprocal mistrust and are ready to cooperate within the framework of common programs. It looks as though the Society for the Development of Cultural Relations With Estonians Abroad has outlived its time. We must consider new opportunities for cooperation between Estonians at home and abroad, based on reciprocal interest and trust. We find interesting the suggestion of a group of men of culture and science to create to this effect an Estonian institute in which Estonians living in our country and in other countries could participate. Active international relations are one of the features of democratization and humanization of our society. This postulate applies to what I said earlier.

The party members in the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers should formulate a policy and an entire mechanism for maintaining direct foreign relations, seeing to it that the development of such relations is consistent with the concepts of the republic's cost accounting.

Sixth. On environment protection. Today the entire Estonian population must be united by serious concern for the preservation of their nature.

The economic system which existed so far favored the waste of natural resources, labor, and energy. Making the production process self-seeking, the thoughtless utilization of natural resources and the ever growing amount of waste are threatening man and the normal conditions of his life. In Narva, electric power plants are discharging into the air hundreds of thousands of tons of harmful substances. In Kokhtla-Yarve and Maardu, chemical industries are polluting the air and the water; the alarm has been sounded in Tallinn, Pyarnu, Virumaa, and other places. The polluted area is widening and pollution is increasing despite expenditures. Our entire environmental protection has been a struggle against consequences. We were helpless to fight the causes.

The people have entered the struggle for a humane environment, rallying in the "Green" movement. The "Greens" have put on the agenda a number of pressing problems which had been ignored by the departments. This has yielded results. The development of many projects hostile to nature has been blocked in Estonia.

However, along with the positive, there is also another trend. Some managers of that movement would like to see it as a constant means of exerting pressure, for which reason they have chosen the method of presently ultimatums. An intelligent policy has always been pursued through compromises rather than ultimatums. We hope that the pioneers of the "Green" movement are aware of their responsibility for our common cause. The problem is that, while speaking of compromises, I do not refer in the least to compromises on problems which present a real threat. In that area there can be no compromises and our positions must and will always be the same.

The environmental protection system must become an active mechanism, comprehensively regulating the use of the natural environment. Its establishment is the main task of people rallied within the recently created Estonian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection and Forest Resources. As departmental power is transferred to the local soviets, they must become the masters also in problems of environmental protection in their own town or rayon. The leadership of the new committee must, interacting with the Environmental Protection Society and the "Greens," formulate a legal mechanism which would make economic management more varied and caring for nature.

We shall achieve a sensible utilization of nature only if we consider regional interests as important as the importance which as been ascribed so far to departmental interests. It is only in that case that we would be able to force departments to take into consideration nature- and resource-conservation technologies and ease the burden placed on nature even under conditions of production intensification. By linking the needs of man with the possibilities of nature we shall be able to protect ourselves more reliably from crises and preserve for the future generations an Estonia suitable for life.

In conclusion, let me mention yet another problem. Currently the market mechanism is being launched through individual and cooperative labor. Initially this leads to higher prices, great differentiation in income and obvious social inequity and inequality. It is entirely clear that the party cannot assume the position of an outside observer if the market element would cause social injustice. It is especially necessary to identify the population groups which find themselves in a difficult position in this connection and seek possibilities of helping them. We must firmly cut down unjustified excessive income earned as a result of meeting demand which cannot be satisfied as yet. The cooperatives are indicating to us the areas of such unsatisfied demand. The state enterprises must now draw more serious conclusions from this. Let me reemphasize that social justice must ensure the triumph of economic methods which will not harm the market as a foundation of economic control.

Comrades! We have today an inflated administrative apparatus. Nonetheless, restructuring keeps requiring encouragements from below and above. Such is the nature of the efficiency of this administrative apparatus. Nonetheless, a segment of this apparatus continues to live as before: carefree, as though nothing affects it. Every party member, particularly if he is employed within that system, must be an active worker, in the straight meaning of this term, at his job. And if he feels that his possibilities are inconsistent with it he should have enough conscience to admit this to his comrades. We are facing a major reduction in the state and party apparatus. In the course of it we could strengthen our professional party cadres.

The new role played by the party also requires party workers of a new type. In order not to replace people for the sake of replacing them, as this frequently occurred as early as 1980, we must spend a certain amount of time studying and determining who in the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party and the republic is objectively able to put his shoulder to the wheel with the rest of the people in Estonia. In this case haste is inadmissible.

We shall have more meetings with the people in the future. They will not be easy. In small Estonia anything that anyone of us does is done in full view of the people. That is why we shall try in the future to clearly demarcate the lines of rights and tasks of the various power agencies or officials. In that case it will always be clear who to praise and who to take to task. At the same time, we must make public all opportunities which are actually at the disposal of a department, collective, or manager.

The slogan "All power to the soviets!" must be implemented above all through the uninterrupted activities of the Supreme Soviet, something which is inherent in many parliamentary countries. This means that the deputies must be paid but also that we must demand of them serious deputy work. This would constitute an essential change in the entire democratization of the management of social life. That which so far has been dealt with by the sectorial department of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and, partially, the Council of Ministers with the ministries must, in the future, be the competence of the Supreme Soviet; this must be done exactly in accordance with legislative procedures. The problem lies not only in practical legislative activities but also in supervising the work of the executive authorities, and control over relations with union authorities and foreign countries. Clearly, a permanent Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR must be smaller than it is now. It is probably not possible to create permanent local soviet authorities, as planned for

the Supreme Soviet. For that reason we must plan for their more consistent work, in the course of which they could resolve in their essence all problems of local life.

It is self-evident that all legislative and regulatory acts applicable to the republic's political system will be adopted only after popular discussion.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee will let the Council of Ministers and its subordinate authorities be in charge of economic management while retaining in its own apparatus only a group of experts. This will enable us, with the help of scientists and practical workers, to assess the condition and prospects of development of the economy. The party's guidance of the economy will, in the future, take place only through the party members-managers, as is required by the principle of the separation of powers. It is entirely clear that the party will nonetheless remain in charge of formulating the scientific foundations for fundamental long-term economic strategy. We must develop economic relations among producers. The Council of Ministers and its subordinate authorities must only provide conditions for economic activities of enterprises, without replacing, in the course of such interference, the diktat exerted by union departments. One command economy must not be replaced today by another. All activities of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, under the conditions of cost accounting, will require a great deal more glasnost in order to ensure public control over the efficiency with which funds are used.

Usually what we mean by state bureaucracy is the administrative apparatus. Curiously enough, at the 19th party congress the statement was made that bureaucracy is like a snowman. The traces of it can be seen by everyone but no one can see the man himself. The situation is probably the same in our country as well. So far it was limited on the basis of directives: demands of curtailing the apparatus by a certain percentage. Under cost accounting, the existence of all leading economic authorities must be determined only by economic expediency.

In this connection we must protect the heads of departments, enterprises and, above all, farms from interference in their daily activities. We have laws on the enterprise and the cooperative. They must be strictly observed. Choosing "their own team" must be the right of department heads. Those who are responsible are also those who must make the selection.

The management of culture and the social area must follow the same path of debureaucratization. The creative workers and their social organizations must be given full voting rights in the allocation of commissions and funds.

It is particularly important to make the administrative structure of the agro-industrial complex consistent with the requirements of our time. Obviously, it would be expedient, on the basis of the laws governing the state enterprise and the cooperative, to create a multiple-step system for voluntary cooperation. We have already undertaken this as well. The agricultural enterprise, which is the main unit of the agro-industrial complex, could, within such a system, become an association of small cost accounting enterprises and individual working people. A proposal has been made to convert processing and procurement enterprises within the agro-industrial complex to interfarm associations or cooperatives. This would enable us to eliminate contradictions between departmental and territorial managements. Let us consider these proposals, let us think about them and find a rational solution to them.

It is a matter of concern that our powerful mass organizations, such as the trade unions and the Komsomol, have been unable to march in step with the political restructuring carried out by the party and with the political situation.

We are not satisfied with the present state of work of the trade unions. Its major shortcoming is the alienation from the working person and his vital interests. Protection of the interests of the working person, however, is a rather pressing item on the agenda. The leading authorities of the trade unions have clearly not understood this as yet and have still not found their place in restructuring. The entire set of problems of the "Green" movement is directly within the range of competence of the trade unions. We need the "Greens" in the protection of a healthy environment. But who, in that case, should be in charge of protecting social justice and the interests of consumers, of people who live below the subsistence wage, and so on? Who should take all such problems to the public and solve them? Is it not clear, without the need for too many words, that that is the precise purpose of the trade unions?

We are concerned with the situation within the Komsomol. During the period of stagnation all young people, not to mention the youth leadership, rapidly aged spiritually. A duplication of the bureaucratic formalized style of party work began to dominate in the Komsomol; the organization lost its authority and, most important, its youthful nature. The independent youth associations are a clear challenge to the Komsomol. This challenge should be accepted only where the Komsomol reorganizes truly its work and tunes to the wavelength of restructuring. Where are Komsomol discussions on restructuring? What is the connection between the Komsomol and the plans for a cost accounting Estonia? Why is it that we do not find in the Komsomol initiatives inherent in creative associations? Yet the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee has substantial funds and opportunities for precisely this purpose. However, let us here as well be self-critical and honest: The Komsomol must be comprehensively granted the full trust and support of the party. We must intelligently help the

young generation to find its place in life. We have no right to approach such problems from obsolete positions, not to mention obsolete work methods.

At the start of their independent life, young people frequently find themselves in the role of petitioners: Many of them are supported by their parents even after they have acquired a profession; it is rare for a young family to have its own apartment. Young families frequently live in hostels or in temporary housing; many problems related to education and to satisfying the cultural demands of young people remain. In order to solve all of these problems, obviously, we need a governmental youth policy, as was most bluntly stated at the 19th party conference. Such a policy must lead to shaping a spiritually, politically, morally, and physically healthy young person—the future of the nation. These are beautiful words but their practical implementation requires our joint and very serious planned work.

We have an outstanding scientific potential. This applies, above all, to sectors which define technical progress, such as physics, the information industry, biotechnology, instrument manufacturing, and others. However, looked at from the contemporary viewpoint, this potential remains largely idle. Our industrial output has preserved its past extensive material intensiveness and low science-intensiveness. This contradiction must be eliminated by achieving a reciprocal rapprochement between science and production and an interest in doing so.

Let us also note the lagging of our social sciences. Obviously the material facilities of the social sciences are weak. Nonetheless, it is precisely the social scientists who, on their own initiative and under the difficult circumstances of the past year, have undertaken the shaping of social thinking and the political situation in many areas. Nonetheless, official science has remained in a waiting position. So far the Academy of Sciences has not acquainted the public with new developments in scientific policy in connection with the restructuring process which is developing in the republic. This must be accomplished in a much broader and comprehensive manner. It is not only a matter of history or economics but of the status of science in national culture and in the national economy as a whole.

We expect more energetic work on the part of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History. Some of its latest publications do not reflect the readiness of party historians for restructuring but are locked within the old systems and yesterday's cliches. Yet it is precisely you who must interpret and take to the people our social thinking, particularly that which we describe as the sensitive areas and blank spots.

We cannot develop science with the rather modest funds which the republic has at its disposal without linking it with the needs of the republic. Scientists must provide expert aid in all problems which arise. An entire range of areas of culture, national problems, economics, social thinking, engineering activities, and others exist in which Estonian science must be on a contemporary level. The honest and weighty word of the scientist must be heard more frequently in our life. It is entirely clear that, in addition to what I said, basic science enjoys our full support.

Authoritarianism and work under the cover of secrecy must be alien to the true scientist. Nonetheless, the management of our science is still far from being democratic and remains concealed from the public. The fact that we are mentioning this means that the voice of the scientist must be heard much more loudly in all matters pertaining to our life, the radical renovation of which is considered necessary by the party. This applies to legal protection. The republic law enforcement authorities are taking their initial steps in proving their readiness to work under the conditions of a developed democracy. However, so far we have no reason to be satisfied. Formalism and even carelessness and rudeness are still present in the work of the law enforcement authorities, the militia, and the prosecutor's office above all. In frequent cases it is impossible to deal with various matters in the Estonian language in the Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve militia departments. Accidents which have involved foreign tourists in recent years have harmed Estonia's reputation abroad. Crime statistics create even among the uninformed person the idea that organized crime is spreading in our country as well. Hence the question: Are we ready to fight it? Poor knowledge of the Estonian language by the personnel of these authorities makes their professionalism questionable.

Some secrecy in the work of law enforcement authorities is inevitable. However, it should not be to the extent to which it is now. This applies to the work of the prosecutor's office, the Ministry of Justice, the courts, the jails, and in the activities of military units on the territory of our republic. This is another question which we must raise with the central authorities. It is entirely obvious that on such matters they will cooperate with us. Not only the work methods of law enforcement authorities, but also their tasks change in the course of restructuring. Here as well we must eliminate some remaining and even partially increasing manifestations of alienation.

To sum up, the law enforcement authorities and the agencies for the defense of the state must link protecting the interest of the state with the interests of the citizens. Here as well the individual must be the main figure. And if we are speaking of a socialist state of the law, the first thing for the individual here is that he must feel protected, I emphasize, protected within this society.

Let me say a few words about mass information and level of information. Today it is already difficult to catch up with all the interesting information which is provided to us by the mass information media. However, this too is a confirmation of what we can do when our spirit has

been freed. By expressing public opinion and formulating topical problems, the press, television, and radio have earned a high reputation. Many broadcasts are very active in molding public opinion.

However, glasnost also enhances the responsibility of the journalist. In expressing a variety of interests, we must realize that a democratic press and integral culture demand that all basic forces in society be able to express their views. Clearly, the problem is how to combine such opportunities in the interest of society as a whole. Our time demands of editors not simply strictly professional skills but, above all, political maturity of the mind.

We are concerned with the condition of the Russian-language press. Results of sociological studies indicate the difficulties experienced by citizens of non-Estonian nationality in getting used to Estonian conditions. One of the reasons for this is the lack of comprehensive information. All, and I emphasize, all party members in the editorial boards of Russian-language newspapers, journals, and television and radio broadcasts must decisively address themselves to the problem of adequately informing the Russian-language speaking population about the complex problems of social life in the republic. The resolution adopted at the 19th all-union party conference on glasnost is a manual for action for the entire party, but particularly for editors.

Major shortcomings also exist in the glasnost of party work. Often, as in the past, party activities are described in the press and on the radio and television on the basis of yesterday's cliches and concepts. We expect of the party members employed in the mass information media steps which will make it possible to organize a frank discussion between people and the party on all sensitive problems. Let us agree that in the future the party organization will have the following exclusive policy: Together and openly we shall develop a program for action and together and openly we shall implement it. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and its Bureau and Secretariat must inform the people in detail on the implementation of jointly adopted resolutions and on the way they react to the critical remarks and suggestions formulated at Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums. They must report about what has been done and what has not been done, and if so why? It is only thus that we shall be able to speak of trust and joint activities between party and people. The information channels must attract party workers and the aktiv more extensively. Ideological work can be carried out only among the people and in front of the people.

We would like to consult with the members of the Central Committee. In the course of the preparations for the plenum the view was expressed that the present form of conducting united policy days has become obsolete. Previously, at meetings during the united policy day, they answered questions which had not been covered by the mass information media. The situation today is different. Subsequently, it may be more expedient to ask department managers who are party members to intensify propaganda and ideological work directly among their personnel and to inform people elsewhere about their work, i.e., in labor collectives. Naturally, this should be done together with the local party authorities. We believe that we should preserve the groups of lecturers of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee who, if necessary, should be assigned wherever necessitated by the situation. Under the conditions of today's political situation, metaphorically speaking let us make every single day a policy day. Actually, that is what it is in fact.

Many of today's misunderstanding and tensions are the consequence of insufficient or distorted information. A high percentage of information is still behind seven padlocks and leaves something to be desired in terms of efficiency and accuracy.

We cannot make policy unaware of reality, unaware of the needs of the people and their attitude toward such policy. We must create in the immediate future an efficient sociological service which will be assisted by efficient information.

In order to be the true masters in society we must know a great deal about ourselves. I emphasize, about ourselves. Unfortunately, our statistical self-portrait bears the imprint of randomness, lack of system, and superficiality. Today we have inadmissibly scant data about ourselves. Hence the essential conclusion that the work of the State Statistical Committee must be restructured.

Let me emphasize the elementary truth that it is only a society which has systematic knowledge about itself that can be healthy; it is only armed with knowledge that we can consciously manage social processes and apply self-regulatory measures. Otherwise, once again the uncontrolled elements, arbitrariness, and subjectivism will gain the upper hand.

Comrades: restructuring demands decisive changes in the activities of the Estonian Communist Party. All party and state agencies in the republic must abandon simplistic comments on all-union resolutions and undertake to define the ways of solving the problems of development which face Estonia. Our main task must be the formulation and implementation of a new policy. To this effect we need individuals who are capable and loyal to the cause and respected by the people. This fully applies to city and rayon committees and to the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The elections of first raykom secretaries in Rakvere and Morskiy Rayon in Tallinn, which took place after the 19th party conference, were an initial attempt at finding such people. The leadership of the Council of Ministers as well was recently strengthened.

This plenum will make changes in the composition of the Central Committee Bureau. As we know, the bureau membership was not filled after Comrade Merimaa's retirement; now Comrade Nikolay Yuganson, member of the Central Committee Bureau, has also decided to retire and requests that he be relieved of his obligations.

The resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference call for upgrading the autonomy of the Soviets. This is a particularly important problem. In this connection, we should consider whether it is proper for the membership of our bureau to have so many members of the Council of Ministers Presidium. Meanwhile, the bureau does not have a single representative of the scientists, the creative intelligentsia, and the ordinary rural workers. Their knowledge, practical experience, and authority are greatly needed by us under the present circumstances. I believe that in subsequent appointments to the bureau and at this plenum these circumstances should be taken into consideration; we ask you to consider this matter.

Currently, accountability and election meetings are taking place in the party organizations. This is an important event in the life of the republic's party organization. We would like the accountability reports submitted by party bureau or committee secretaries to be evaluated critically, so that the assessment of their work is honest and so that discussions at meetings become a kind of party cleansing. The purpose of the meetings should be to strengthen the creative, monolithic, and combative organization, an organization which should be characterized by unity between words and actions.

Many rayon committees have submitted to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee their considerations as to how, under the new circumstances, to conduct the accountability and election meetings. A variety of opinions have been expressed and everyone has his own viewpoint. However, this is precisely the way it should be.

Let me say a few words on problems of organizational-party work, which must be discussed in the course of the accountability and election meetings.

We hold one of the most modest places in the Soviet Union in terms of the relative number of party members among the population. This is understandable. The Estonian Communist Party was unable to protect the Estonian people from injustice in the recent past and, even more so, during the Stalinist period. Worsening the national disproportion within the party, we reached the point where employees and members of the intelligentsia had to stand in line to be accepted in the party.

Estonia is characterized by small primary party organizations. In turn, this creates the problem of how to turn a primary party organization into the center of the political life of the labor collective. This particularly applies to the present, when we are converting to a variety of forms of economic management, in the course of which the role of small collectives and primary organizations will become even greater. The primary organizations must abandon unjustified party interference in economic activities. However, this does not mean in the least that the communists are relieved from their responsibility for it. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee must organize a serious debate with a view to broadening the content and forms of work of the primary organizations under the new conditions. The local party organizations and authorities must assimilate the simple truth that in order to be independent and authoritative they must make decisions and act independently. All types of coordination with superior authorities are now a thing of the past. However, the one main thing which remains is that the main topic of our accountability and election meetings must be the thoughts and resolutions of the all-union party conference. It is thus that we shall be ready, together with the party members, to give serious thought to our duty to the present and the future, to our duty to the party.

Until recently the leaders of the local party and soviet aktivs were determined simply: They consisted either of the head of the establishment or the secretary of the party organization. Naturally, there also were cases in which a superior authority issued other "requests." Under the new circumstances the primary organization must appoint to party or soviet authorities active rank-and-file party members who today, for a variety of reasons, have not been elected members of such representative authorities. It is only thus that the party organization will be able to draw to itself individuals who today participate only in other organizations, societies, movements, or associations and who, perhaps, do not always represent in them the party's interests. The search for and appointment of capable people is probably our main task in the accountability and election campaign.

The authority of the Estonian Communist Party is greatly determined by thoughtfulness in the activities of city and rayon committees. Obviously many of them need the help of the Central Committee, above all where events escape the influence of the party organization.

Comrades: The present economic situation gives priority to the demand of satisfying the vital needs of the people. The further authority of the city and rayon committees depends on their ability to understand the nature of life in the localities. It is precisely of them that the people expect initiatives. In this area one neither can nor should issue prescriptions from above, for local problems vary and local life must be directed locally. The center can only create conditions and broaden the opportunities of rayon and city committees.

The shaping of new power relations and the shifting of power from party committees to soviets greatly depends on the local leadership. The party must be able to identify the true leaders who would become respected chairmen of soviets.

One must give serious thought to the size of a city or rayon committee, to who should be a member of the bureau, and to how to organize relations between elected authorities and the apparat.

In our view, this plenum must create a task force consisting of Central Committee members and which, in accordance with the new requirements, will help to carry out the accountability and election campaign and formulate our viewpoint on the further organization of party life in city and rayon committees. Suggestions are also needed on how to put an end to the command work methods of the apparat of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. To be more precise, we have already accomplished this.

We must reorganize the activities of the apparat of the Central Committee and of the city and rayon committees. Based on the new assignments facing the party committees and guided by the resolutions of the 19th conference and the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum, we must define the structure and composition of the apparat of party committees. We must complete our reorganization before the start of the accountability and election conferences. At the first stage we shall significantly reduce the party apparat and essentially close down sectorial departments. About 70 percent of the saved wage fund will go to raising the salaries of party personnel. Naturally, this will be done without any excessive haste, for such reductions affect specific individuals with great practical experience. A frank discussion must be held with all of them, taking into consideration their wishes and finding suitable jobs for them. The main thing is for the renovated apparatus to be able to provide better assistance to the committees in the implementation of their main task of being the political center and the manager of their rayon or city. For the time being, the making of all changes has been assigned essentially to the party committees themselves.

From a representative authority the Central Committee must become a true working agency. Above all, we must change the nature of relations between the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and its bureau and apparat. The bureau suggests that after the plenum a task force be set up consisting of Central Committee members, scientists, and party workers to discuss plans for the democratization of party life.

In conclusion: We have the special problem of convening an extraordinary congress of the Estonian Communist Party. This has been requested by 23 percent of party organizations, which account for 16 percent of party members. Of late new suggestions have not been received and the old ones remain in effect and cannot be ignored. A particularly large number of such suggestions have been received from Tartu and Tartuskiy Rayon, Pylva, and Saaremaa.

We see this as a reaction to the tension which has appeared because of the crisis of confidence. Many party members are calling for decisive cadre changes within the Central Committee and its bureau and for new decisions in the main areas of activities of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. Let me express my straightforward and frank opinion, which coincides with that of the bureau. The 19th party conference gave us clear directions of activities and provided the broadest possible opportunities. Extensive work is taking place based on the current accountability and election campaign within the party and aimed at ensuring the implementation of what was said on the lower levels. We must give ourselves the time and opportunity to formulate concepts and practical areas of activity for the implementation of cadre policy. Haste could lead only to unconsidered decisions. Very little time remains until the next congress of the Estonian Communist Party. Let us make full use of it and let us not disperse our efforts. A great deal was said about the fact that the new secretary must be given the opportunity to choose his own team. Therefore, you must provide this opportunity, for a team can be chosen by studying the people and not off the cuff; we have already paid the price of such errors.

Great hopes are being placed on our present plenum by the party organizations, possibly more than the plenum would be able to accomplish. Let us speak directly and honestly about anything which has disturbed us, which hinders the work. Let us speak of how we shall work in the future, in such a way that people can say: The party is in its place. In order to achieve this, every party member must be in his right place and, most importantly, must have a party conscience. Everyone, on the basis of such a conscience, must look around and ask himself the question: Am I worthy today of my own time?

May our discussion be what a discussion among party members should be, the type of discussion which took place at the 19th all-union party conference!

Second Session Reported

WA1800011C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] The proceedings of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee continued on 10 September with debates on the first item on the agenda. The following took part in the debates: A. Vaynokivi, Pylvaskiy Rayon Executive Committee chairman; M. Titma, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute sector head; T. Laak, Tartu City Party Committee first secretary; L. Yaarman, head of a poultry farm at the Kolkhoz imeni M. Khyarma, Tartuskiy

Rayon; Ya. Kaarma, Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture chairman; S. Tarakanov, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA; R. Otsason, Estonian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and Estonian SSR Gosplan chairman; V. Saluste, Leninskiy Party Raykom first secretary, Tallinn; M. Kadastik, editor of the newspaper EDAZI; A. Altmyae, principal of the Tallinn Construction-Machine Technical School; L. Kalyuve, Rakvereskiy Rayon Executive Committee chairman; Kh. Baumverk, head of a vegetable growing brigade at the base-model sovkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin, Khryuskiy Rayon; M. Mikiver, Union of Estonian SSR Theater Workers chairman; E. Moltsar, Northern High-Tension Power Grid director; and D. Klenskiy, Baltic area correspondent for the journal OGONEK.

Information was presented by V. Udam, first secretary of Pyarnuskiy Party Raykom.

A concluding speech was delivered by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum unanimously passed the resolution "On Practical Measures for the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" on the topic under discussion.

The plenum then proceeded to discuss organizational problems.

The plenum removed P. Melnik from the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Kh. Allsaar and E. Pyldroos were promoted from candidate members to full members of the Central Committee.

L. Yuganson was relieved from his obligations as member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau for reasons of retirement. The plenum expressed to him its gratitude for his long and fruitful work.

Kh. Veldi was relieved from his duties as candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his transfer to scientific work. The plenum expressed to him its gratitude for his long and fruitful work.

G. Tynspoyeg, candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, was promoted to full member of the bureau.

The following were elected members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau by secret vote: B. Tamm, rector of the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute; P. Kibe, chief zootechnican, Estoniya Kolkhoz, Paydeskiy Rayon; and E. Pyldroos, chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Union of Painters.

Plenum Resolution Published

WA18000011D Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "On Measures for the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] 1. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which emphasizes the exceptional importance of the 19th all-union party conference in continuing the course of renovation, expresses its full support of its results and of the resolutions of the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, considering them a specific program for the implementation of the ideas of the 19th all-union party conference.

2. The plenum approves the stipulations and conclusions contained in the report submitted by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The city and rayon party committees, the primary party organizations and all party members must be guided in their further activities by the stipulations and trends contained in the report of the bureau and undertake their immediate implementation.

3. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the editorial commission elected at the plenum, together with the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, are instructed to sum up the numerous proposals and critical remarks expressed at the plenum and, on their basis, to draft a program of action for the implementation of the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference and July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and to submit it for ratification at the next Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which will take place this coming November.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau must provide steady information to the republic population on the work toward the implementation of the stipulations of the plenum and the suggestions expressed in it.

Vyalyas' Closing Address

WA18000011E Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report on speech by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee: "Concluding Remarks of V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Comrades: The plenum proved with full unanimity that, acting on behalf of the republic party organization, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee approves the resolutions of the 19th all-union party

conference, which are of vital importance to us in order to pursue the process of restructuring, daringly initiated by the party. We have seen once again, clearly, not only with our minds but also with our hearts, that no other way is open to the party or the people. No second chance will be given to us.

Views on how to implement in our republic problems proceeding from the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference, submitted in the report of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, were supported by the plenum. This includes paying attention to the prime needs of our people or, in short, anything which we are doing for the sake of the spiritual and physical health of the people. Unquestionably, this also includes problems of republic cost accounting and ecology which we discussed and which also met with support, and the national problem in its Leninist significance. This included also concepts such as internationalism (and restoring to it its true party value), and patriotism, which means love for one's land, people, culture, and roots. No one who does not love his home can be a patriot, and love for the homeland in the simple people begins at the threshold of their native home, with respect and love for father and mother. The view presented by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the Estonian language as the state language and Estonian SSR citizenship, which must be constitutionally ratified, met with unanimous support. In short, we discussed all problems which were so seriously considered even before the plenum. We can say that the basic problems presented in the Central Committee Bureau report met with the approval of the plenum. We reached the agreement that at the present time, after such serious discussions over the past 2 days at this plenum, convening an extraordinary party congress becomes unnecessary.

The plenum displayed a very critical, self-critical, and exigent attitude toward the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Estonian SSR Government. The attitude displayed toward cadre policy was quite demanding. In the future we shall pursue this policy on the basis of party principle-mindedness and calm, but always bearing in mind that we are dealing with living people.

A great deal of attacks on Comrade B. Saul were largely justified but somewhat unjustified. In his honest address, in a party-minded spirit, he asked us whether he should or should not remain as prime minister. This confirms the party courage of this person. He had enough courage to speak from the rostrum of the plenum about the shortcomings and errors in his work. No Central Committee member and, with one exception, no plenum speaker, raised the question of confidence. If we have already reached an agreement on confidence in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and, possibly, in myself as Central Committee secretary, on matters of implementation of cadre policy, give all of us time to accomplish this. We have renovated the leadership of the Council of Ministers, which in the past, unfortunately, the chairman of the Council of Ministers had the least right to do so. We shall give to the people the opportunity to implement the statements made at the plenum. We believe that they will be implemented; for this reason, at this point, we remove this problem from the agenda.

In conclusion, let me say that apparently all of us, members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the numerous party aktiv invited to attend the plenum, will disperse after it with a single feeling which could be described as party responsibility. We have felt in our hearts responsibility for the party and the people. Words will become actions only if we truly act as a single team and in a single spirit. Let the spirit of consolidation and the desire to restore the party's authority and its vanguard role, which were so clearly manifested at the plenum, become a point of honor for every one of our party members. It is with this thought that I would like to conclude.

Economic

'No Culprits' in Power Industry Shortcomings

PM2909104788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 2

[V. Belov report: "But There Are No Culprits... USSR Supreme Soviet Commission Session"]

[Text] The session of the Preparatory Commission for the Fuel and Energy Complex discussing progress in fulfilling the plan for the power industry's development, along with the sector's tasks for 1989, heard quite a harsh assessment: "There are very real fears that in the 13th 5-Year Plan power industry workers will bring the country's national economy to its knees..."

It is time to sound the alarm: in recent years the Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministry of Atomic Energy have failed to fulfill the plans for commissioning new power industry capacities. Of the 21.7 million kilowatts of capacity planned for commissioning this year, a little over 10 million will actually be commissioned. It is also clear in advance that the 5-year target will not be fulfilled either, since the construction groundwork has not been carried out. It was intended to provide an increase in capacity of 83.6 million kilowatts during the current 5-year period, but an increase of something like 60 million is now expected.

It was to no avail that Tyumen Party Obkom First Secretary G. Bogomyakov, chairman of the preparatory commission, insistently urged that the specific culprits to blame for the prevailing situation be named: not a single name from the upper echelon of the sector's management was mentioned. There are no culprits, and it transpires that no one bears personal responsibility for the failures in the sector's development.

Moreover, S. Sadovskiy, USSR first deputy minister of power and electrification, began to cunningly remove his own ministry from the firing line, by harshly pinning all the blame on partners—the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building—which he said are unable to provide the Ministry of Power and Electrification with timely supplies of pipes, spare parts, and so on, and so forth.

That is probably so, but the deputies could not fail to note the absence of self-criticism on the part of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification itself. After all, year in, year out the ministry grossly (I quote) fails to fulfill the plans for assimilating the appropriated funds for preparatory work [zadely]. No partner can be blamed for the failure to assimilate these funds—the ministry's own construction workers are directly to blame.

But, as is often the case, troubles do not come singly. Not only the targets for commissioning new capacities, but also those for replacing wornout and uneconomical equipment are not being fulfilled. By 1988, 16 million kilowatts of old capacities ought to have been decommissioned, but they are still in operation. And what is happening as a result? Fuel consumption is rising. This year consumption per kilowatt-hour of generated power has increased by 4.1 grams. Multiply that figure by the billion or so kilowatt-hours generated in thermal power stations, and you get additional expenditure of over 4 million tonnes of standard fuel.

And if you add to this the fact that in the sector retooling is often done with equipment developed back in the sixties, you can imagine what an impasse the power industry workers are driving themselves into. Immediate, burning tasks are being resolved, but not even all of those. There is an increasingly marked tendency to put long-term questions of the sector's development on the back burner.

After analyzing the state of the introduction of new equipment in the Ministry of Power and Electrification and Ministry of Atomic Energy, V. Dobrokhotov, chief of a State Committee for Science and Technology department, drew the most depressing conclusions, but was immediately bombarded with questions by deputies: What is the State Committee for Science and Technology doing to ensure that the sector faces up to the latest scientific and technical developments, of which there are fortunately no shortages? The deputies received no intelligible answer. Indeed, it is not enough merely to note the dispiriting fact that steam generator units developed in the USSR 25 years ago are not used in the Soviet power industry, without attempting to answer the question of why this is. Who specifically is to blame for the fact that a technical advance of ours is very widely used abroad, while at home we merely discuss who should manufacture steam gas turbines, and in which stations they should first be installed? Note that this is happening at a time when our national economy is in dire need of flexible power industry capacities—which is precisely the quality possessed by steam gas turbines.... And how many fine words we have heard about fluidized bed boilers! Where are they? Yet this is also a solution to part of the ecological problem. It is good to make haste slowly, but to make haste, and not mark time.

And you feel sick when N. Lukonin, minister of atomic energy, tells deputies that the number of unplanned shutdowns of nuclear reactors "is still great." The reason? The poor quality of equipment! At nuclear power stations?! Phew! The image of Chernobyl is still hanging over our heads....

The Preparatory Commission for the Fuel and Energy Complex is submitting its proposals to the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session in light of all these facts.

New Approaches to Machine Building Outlined

WA18230004 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by A. Kamenev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, doctor of technical sciences: "Machine Building: Formula for Radical Change"]

[Text] It is hardly necessary to prove to anyone how great the role of machine building is in restructuring the country's economy. Precisely here lies the root system of the scientific and technical progress of the entire national economy and, so, the key to increasing its effectiveness. Decisions on modernizing this key complex, which were drawn up after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and refined at the June 1986 Plenum, have acquired the nature of a national program, and have become part of the concept of social and economic acceleration.

In the current 5-year plan, machine builders must ensure a production growth rate outstripping average industrial production 1.7-fold. The second task, unparalleled in overseas or domestic practice, is to reach the world level for parameters of the basic types of equipment in only a few years. In doing this, it is necessary to increase the productivity and reliability of machines by a factor of 1.5-2 and reduce the time periods for developing and assimilating new equipment by a factor of 3-4. Accordingly, machine building has been given the necessary priorities in investments and in its supply of resources.

The first half of the 5-year plan is over. In analyzing its results, it should be noted that there has been marked progress. Product output equals 3.5 years of the last 5-year plan. The targets for its modernization and for the conformity of the most important types to world achievements have been exceeded, although experience shows that far from all of the problems of assessing the technical level have been resolved. The methodology is based on self-assessment criteria, and they are far from

objective. However, a unified approach here has been worked out for the first time, and this is fundamentally important. More than 5,000 machines, instruments and equipment have been assimilated, mainly being imported from capitalist countries. We are continuing on course toward pace-setting development of the complex and its base sectors—above all, electronics and instrument-making—compared to the rest of industry. Twice as much has been invested in the scientific-research and experimental base as there was during the entire previous 5-year plan.

Thus considerable efforts have been made and higher results achieved than ever before. Nevertheless a radical change in the work of machine builders has not taken place. More than 1.5 billion rubles' worth of products less than the 5-year plan quota has been given. The requirements of the majority of sectors of the national economy for necessary equipment are still not being satisfied. No matter how enchanting is the desire to feel that things will change in the near future, the real situation gives no justification for such a conclusion.

Nevertheless, this conclusion, in and of itself, must be attributed to the activists of restructuring, primarily because it was not drawn at the end of the 5-year plan, as was the case before—when nothing can be changed and all that is left is making statements. But the main thing lies in structure—in understanding the need for new approaches to the modernization and development of machine building.

The essence of the new approaches can be briefly expressed in a formula which is paradoxical at first glance: In order to sharply improve machine building, it is first necessary to abandon attempts to expand all of machine building immediately. There are not enough resources for this. And the experience of 2 and a half years of the 5-year plan has convincingly confirmed this. It is necessary to correctly outline the breakthrough sectors, concentrate shock forces on them, form breaches, and then pull through the remaining elements. This involves a decisive reorganization of the organizational-structural and investment policy within the machine building complex. The most important issue here, certainly, is choosing national economic priorities.

Of course, priorities were also set earlier. But how? Ministries and departments, together with central economic bodies, formulated their goals for the future and based their requirements on them. Programs were developed and quotas were determined, but without taking into account the actual machine- building potential, and linking its development to plans and investments. In essence, these were department priorities which were artificially given the status of national economic priorities. There are numerous shortcomings in such practice; the main one is that it does not conform to true capabilities. The total quota volume for the machine builders was twice to three times their production potential. To those who developed these programs, it seemed that the more positions they "drove" into decisions and quotas, the better they would be supplied with equipment. In actuality, however, they merely strengthened the diktat of the manufacturer—receiving a portfolio of orders that obviously could not be fulfilled, he was given the opportunity to choose whichever was favorable to him, but certainly not to the consumer.

This is what the starting positions were like at the beginning of the 5-year plan. With the accelerated modernization of products and with sharply increased demands for their quality, they ended up in critical and sometimes dramatic situations. Many quotas for the development of new equipment were changed and then torn away. Time, effort, and resources ended up wasted, for no purpose. Life urgently demanded intervention with these processes. It was necessary, however, not simply to make the quotas for machine builders correspond to their capabilities, but to focus their efforts in truly revolutionary directions as well, which would ensure in-depth modernization of national economic complexes in the shortest amount of time and, in so doing, provide machine building with everything necessary to carry out the set tasks.

Today it can be said that the machine builders, together with consumers, USSR Gosplan and GKNT [State Committee for Science and Technology], have carried out this work. They have formed 44 priority directions.

Four basic directions have been chosen in the area of social development, including improved-quality and functional consumer goods, modern medical equipment, and publishing and printing equipment.

Eight priorities are in effect for the Food Program. Among them are automated equipment complexes for processing food products and equipping storehouses and livestock farms, special machinery for brigade and lease-contract and individual farms, and new equipment for advanced technologies.

Twelve directions encompass the most important transportation tasks. First of all is passenger transport. These are modern subway and local electric train cars with improved comfort, a new generation of large-capacity city and intercity buses, and promising compact cars.

There are six priorities in the construction complex—above all, equipment for fundamentally new technological processes, including the construction of individual houses and buildings, and machinery for laying new roads, and for repairing and maintaining them.

There are three priority directions each in the fuel and energy, metallurgical and machine building complexes, and five in the chemical and forestry complex.

Of course, accelerated development of machine building is also a most important priority, the point of which is to create a scientific and production potential capable of

fully satisfying the domestic demand for equipment with high consumer characteristics, as well as to solve problems of the competitiveness of machines, equipment, and instruments on the foreign market.

It should be emphasized that the research and development of equipment with overall importance to the national economy will develop in six directions: mechanization of laborious and hazardous work, automation of engineering and administrative work, equipment for energy- and resource-saving technologies, and computerization and software development.

Even such a short listing gives an idea of one fundamental aspect which determined the formation of these priorities: the orientation of their goals toward the interests of man and the satisfaction of his needs.

Finally, the time factor is not only decisive, but also strict. In the years left before the end of the 5-year plan, we must achieve the maximum possible acceleration in order to reach, in the subsequent period, the necessary levels of production for the sectors—consumers of machinery and other equipment. Already in 1988-1990 we have to make more than 1,000 developmental and experimental-industrial models.

To do this, we will concentrate in priority directions more than half of the scientific and technological potential of machine building, the investments for the development of an experimental and scientific research base, and for modernizing and retooling enterprises, and nearly three-fourths of the computer technology and other means of automation of scientific and engineering work allotted to machine builders.

The same major steps are called for in coordinating the sectors for development and supply of components, materials, and the means of automation for machine builders. A special role is assigned to the construction complex, which ensures implementation of the necessary investment maneuver in machine building.

Changing the structural policy and determining the priority directions in machine building are topics that are examined and approved in conference by the CPSU Central Committee.

The "Consolidated Program of Implementing Priority Directions in Creating New-Generation Technology for In-Depth Modernization of National Economic Complexes Between 1989 and 1995" is now being completed. It will be approved in October and will become the single document for all levels of supervision and execution, which ensures the combination of state interests with the economic concerns of labor collectives; it will stimulate their maximum contribution to the end result. The state order in forming the draft State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1989 already includes 140 quotas for the development and delivery of fundamentally new types of equipment, encompassing 41 priority directions.

The formation of priority directions and development of measures to implement them has made it possible to determine, in a more well-founded manner, the directions for the reorganization of sectorial science. By the end of the 5-year plan it is envisaged that the volume of research and development will have been tripled, that the level of capital investments directed to development of an experimental base will have been brought to 15 percent of their overall volume, and that the capital-labor ratio of engineering labor will have been inceased severalfold.

The basic resources for these goals have been determined. The government has made the decision to form large financial reserves and provide economic incentives for developing high-efficiency equipment in the breakthrough directions. Engineering centers and cooperatives are being formed; contests are being held. Already today the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building is materially and organizationally supporting the initiatives of collectives and individual specialists who have proven in practice their creative capabilities. The All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Machine Building Problems, which operates under the Bureau for Science and Technology, is working as the main analytical center of incoming proposals. As they say, you are always welcome.

To be sure, we are aware that these are merely the first steps: merely approaches to reorganizing sectorial science. The many stereotypes in organizing the activities of scientific research institutes [SRI's] and design bureaus [DB's], and the long-term and now usual lack of prestige of engineering work have grown into strategically dangerous situations.They have become an impediment to scientific and technical progress, and require profound, radical measures.

It is no secret that many leading designer schools of the past have today lost their positions, and the percentage of original developments has sharply decreased. They have been replaced by imitation and mediocrity; bureaucratic practices have appeared and begun to flourish. As a result, sectorial science in machine building has ended up the most neglected sphere, and corresponds least of all to set tasks. By today's standards, half of the SRI's and DB's are operating inefficiently and have a low output, and their developments have not been incorporated into production for years. At the beginning of the 5-year plan, the volume of research and design work comprised just over 2 percent of the volume of products to be marketed, which is substantially lower than the level established in world practice. The capital-labor ratio of institutes and design bureaus is also inferior to the world level; about 40 percent of these organizations do not have an experimental base.

The ministries have actually resigned themselves to the situation. The focus of their efforts, and the attention of the scientific and technical community and the mass media, has gradually shifted toward a mere evaluation of what has been achieved. Monitoring the course of fulfilling established targets is certainly an important matter, but it is secondary. Factors on a creative plane are primary, and for years they have remained in the background.

The fundamental conditions which would make it possible to develop highly efficient equipment are diverse in nature. Meanwhile, the "technology" adopted today of creating new equipment artificially is being driven into the framework of its own individual ministry. And this is not by chance.

Ministries reflect the narrow, historically established departmental management principle, with typical traits of economic isolation. On the one hand, the many years of autonomous development of machine building as a whole has not improved the situation, as investments, material, and moral incentives were not tied to economic dependence upon consumers and selling markets. Also evident, on the other hand, is the autonomous development and economic isolation of the sectors within machine building itself. These factors produced and continue to produce disunity and duplication in scientific and technical policy, and a reduction in technological specialization, cooperation and other intersectorial relationships.

The nature of departmental and economic isolation has been genetically grafted to sectorial science as well. Two or 3 decades back, when machine building products were not so complex, sectorial autonomy could somehow be tolerated. However, the objective laws of the development of technology led to a high degree of integration within it of the achievements of many directions of science and production. Today it is impossible to ensure that within the framework of one sector.

Shortcomings in management and the low output of sectorial science, superimposed on such factors as a shortage of electronics, quality construction materials, and component parts, constitute the existing environment; one which significantly fetters the creators of high-level technology and prevents even the potential we have from coming to light.

In world practice, component parts and construction materials are a subject of special concern. They are quickly improved, produced in abundance, and are the basis for ensuring a high technical level and reliability of equipment.

The situation is particularly grave with computerization. Today, when automation is accomplished with the aid of integrated circuits, it has become impossible to separate the processes of creating the controls and the machines themselves. They must proceed simultaneously and interdependently. In practice, the development of machines, the means of automation and built-in electric drives is distibuted by sector. This historical atavism today has become the largest obstacle to creating modern processing centers, robots, transport equipment, and many other types of equipment.

Thus the forms for the organization of sectorial science which have taken shape in recent decades, and their relation to production and the customer, do not permit using modern concepts to perform the tasks of scientific and technical progress. Nor can we count on radical change in the rate of creating new equipment, or in its quality. Serious structural and organizational changes are needed to remove this contradiction.

Above all, we need to bring to the state level the resolution to develop and produce highly efficient component parts, measurement devices, general-purpose machine building equipment, construction materials, and a special computerization component base. All scientific organizations, design bureaus and machine building enterprises engaged in creating these products and materials must work under new economic conditions, in the interests of the entire machine building complex, and within the framework of a unified organizational system. They should probably be grouped according to similarity of research and development subject matter, without duplication and parallelism.

Such is the scheme for the imminent restructuring. But a concrete form is still needed, which would make it possible to convert new principles into reality. In this regard, the proposal on the formation of a USSR Engineering Academy, made by a number of the country's leading scientists, seems timely and requires in-depth study. It is not a question of creating another management or scientific superstructure, but a single national body which would assume the practical resolution of general machine building problems. Above all, this should be an academy of developments.

After beginning with machine building, its activities should gradually encompass other spheres of the national economy.

I do not think it is necessary to maintain the engineering academy at the expense of the state. Its work could be financed on an economic contract basis, both from centralized sources in the form of a state order, and in the form of direct ties with the consumers of its scientific and technical products in the industrial sphere.

There is every reason to expect its high economic profitability, since the best engineering minds and talents, will be concentrated here, in an alliance of kindred spirits along with a large research base and the necessary production potential. In practice, the academy will become the "brain center" of scientific and technical

progress in machine building, converting into reality the lofty plans of radical economic reform, and the social and democratic changes of our society.

Structurally, it is advisable to supplement this center with a family of intersectorial state associations, consortiums and associations of scientific and technical organizations, engaged in the development and industrial production of an entire spectrum of general-purpose machine building component parts, as well as particularly important types of new-generation equipment of nationwide importance. An institute of general designers responsible for developing the most important scientific and technical directions in machine building will naturally join in this structure, and finally fill it with life.

The USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building is also studying other promising proposals and measures with central economic agencies.

Thus the meaning of reorganizing the sectorial science of the machine building complex can be reduced to the accomplishment of two basic tasks: its structure must correspond to the modern technology for creating new equipment, and it must be manageable, so as to be able to pursue an active scientific and technical policy.

The main task of such an organization should lie in ensuring that all elements are linked by mutual interests, and are at the same time autonomous that each subdivision is oriented toward specific consumers, who form as well its economic prosperity. This is precisely the guarantee for the vitality of the system and for its self-development.

It is equally important that it be open to external influence. Through such instruments as investment policy and state orders, the state can concentrate large material and financial resources, along with the efforts of specialists, on shock directions, ensuring breakthrough in equipment and technology. Thes achievements, because of the interrelationships of all the elements of the complex, are adopted quickly, and become general property. Thus a pulsating nature of development is achieved—the most progressive, as world practice proves.

In conclusion, I think it is necessary to answer a question which the readers probably have. The collectives of those SRI's, DB's and enterprises which did not fall in the 44 directions are disturbed. They must be aware that they are in for a difficult period—it is clear to each that the concentration of efforts and resources on the shock sectors will be priority compared to the rest. What can be said in this regard? Naturally, there cannot be any general recommendations—each individual case must be based on specifics and particular features. But the basic tendency is to work out the tactics and strategy of economic prosperity based on the interests of the consumer.

First of all, we need to pursue the following principle, not in words but in deeds: earn and live according to earnings. When designers of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building have been developing a system of machines for years, from more than 2,000 descriptions, not knowing which of them would be necessary today and which only the day after tomorrow—meaning tomorrow it will not be paid—they lived virtually in debt. The state was footing their bill. Now we and the customers have analyzed our immediate needs along with our work in progress, selecting 150 machines which truly solve the principal problems in agriculture. Their creators will receive the maximum possible, so that this equipment will be in the fields and on the farms in the shortest possible time in sufficient numbers.

Such structural reorganization meets the main requirement of the day—orientation toward the consumer. The methods for managing this complex process also conform to the time schedule. At their base is the combination of strong centralized measures to resolve key issues with the broad development of economic independence and the democratization of all spheres of the activities of the labor collectives.

But what is to be done with the ministries in this situation?

More and more often, voices are heard concerning the need to eliminate these management bodies, which have supposedly exhausted their capabilities under the new conditions of economic management. However, it seems that such changes would involve the loss of positive experience accumulated in our economic practice. New forms of activities are developing in machine building, in the form of lease contracts and cooperatives. The process of forming intersectorial state associations, engaged in producing similar products and having a clearly pronounced customer, is building up. All this will inevitably decrease the number of enterprises and associations included in certain ministries.

But in machine building the list of consumer products is great: motor vehicles, tractors, products for the electrical engineering industry, instrument building, etc. They are produced in large volume, require effective coordination of work, are needed by everyone, and do not have a specific customer. Here we cannot get along without sectorial management bodies. At least not for some time. But, undoubtedly, these should be democratized management bodies representing the interests of consolidated sectors, should operate on economic principles and should be responsible for forming long-term scientific, technical, structural, and investment policy, in the interests of a balanced and planned development of consolidated directions in the national economy. The process of reorganization in the sphere of machine building management is necessary, but caution is required in its approaching it. It would be impermissible to fail to rely on the positive experience of the sectorial ministries over their many years of work.

The whole dynamism, complexity and ambiguity of the processes taking place in the economy in the post-April period have convincingly proven that the party's assessment of the special role of machine building—as a powerful lever for intensifying the national economy and carrying out top-priority social tasks—was a correct and deeply considered decision. Scientific, production and management problems are concentrated here with special acuteness. Machine building has become a testing ground for the approval of the innovations of radical economic reform. Questions of organization and structural reorganization come to a head earliest of all in this national economic complex. Success in this matter depends primarily on the active and concerned participation of each labor collective and of all machine builders. We must wake their talents, incite them to make a breakthrough, and consult producers and the scientific and technical community on vitally important problems in the development of machine building—but we must not drag out discussions. We must boldly proceed with the approval of the decision being worked out; we must not fear its novelty and diversity. Machine building products must, in the shortest time possible, meet the needs of the country and occupy a worthy place in the world market. There is no alternative here.

Reforms To Be Concluded 'Next Decade'

LD2709104488 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] The social and economic reforms launched in the Soviet Union in the interest of raising living standards will be concluded by the beginning of the next decade, said a prominent economist Leonid Abalkin. Tangible positive changes can be expected to occur at that time. Even now, according to statistics, good results have been gained in reorienting economic development in terms of social programs. In the consumer goods industries, the rates of growth have increased. Next year, they are expected to rise two-and-a-half times faster than those in the heavy industries. Additional funds were allocated for the construction of housing, schools, clinics, and child-care centers.

Scientific

'Molniya-3' Communications Satellite Launched

LD3009073188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0713 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Sep (TASS)—The latest Molniya-3 communications satellite was launched in the Soviet Union by a Molniya carrier rocket on 29 September 1988 to ensure the use of the long-distance telephone and telegraph radio communications system and broadcasting of the USSR central television programs to points of the Orbita network and for the purposes of international cooperation.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with an apogee of 38,937 km in the northern hemisphere and a perigee of 646 km in the southern hemisphere. The satellite's period of revolution is 11 hours 42 minutes; orbital inclination 62.9 degrees.

Communications sessions via the Molniya-3 will be conducted in accordance with the planned program.

'Reusable Space Plane' Nearing Completion

OW2709150788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Dear listeners, the USSR is going to experiment with a kind of reusable space plane in the near future. Now please listen to a talk by the station's science observer:

The space plane's creators have solved many problems concerning science, technology, and design in a relatively short period of time. They did so all by themselves because the solutions to those problems cannot be found elsewhere. Even if others have the solutions, they will not give them to you. The space plane is manned and able to return to earth.

At present, the Soviet space plane is undergoing its last phase of experimentation [shi yan]. Soviet Air Force personnel are conducting a training program with special training equipment. Are there any special features in the Soviet space plane? A leader of the Soviet Cosmonauts Training Center, Satalov, told this station in an interview:

[Begin Satalov recording in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Our space plane system is different from that of the United States. We manufacture rockets and space planes separately, while the U.S. space shuttle is an inseparable part of a whole system. For example, since engines are installed on the space planes, they can fly up to orbit on their own. The fuel is stored in an attached fuel tank.

Why do we want to manufacture rockets and space planes separately? Because we are considering the use of an all-purpose carrier to launch Moon and Mars probes, send spacecraft to orbital stations and other space equipment, and launch space planes in the future. For this purpose, the USSR has built the Energiya carrier rocket which has a payload of 100 tons. [end recording]

Are there any common characteristics between Soviet and U.S. spacecraft?

[Begin Satalov recording in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Every country has similar missions in space. These missions present different requirements for the shape, weight, and structure of the components. The Soviet and U.S. systems are roughly similar. Their similarity could well be compared to that of the planes and automobiles produced by these two countries. The payload of Soviet space planes is almost the same as that of

U.S. space shuttles: their maximum payload is 29.5 tons. U.S. space shuttles can carry as many as seven people during a mission. Soviet space planes can carry the same number of people, or even more if necessary. [end recording]

Spacecraft Launch Planned

LD2909125088 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—Preparatory work is under way in the Soviet Union for launching an Energiya multipurpose space transport system including a new, heavy-lift Energiya booster, which was blasted off successfully for the first time on May 15, 1987, and a reusable spaceship.

The objectives of the planned launch are to conduct a comprehensive flight test of the spaceship's design and its on-board systems without a crew on board during lift-off, in orbit and during automatic landing as well as to continue upgrading the booster rocket and ground flight control aids.

Checks are currently being made at Baykonur cosmodrome on a ground computerized launch processing system and on the equipment and on-board systems of the Energiya booster and the spaceship.

Safety Systems Aboard 'Cosmos-1900' Described

PM2909134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Technical Sciences Prof V. Serbin under the rubric "Cosmos-1900: Our Commentary": "What Will Happen to the Reactor?"]

[Text] I will start with what is probably the chief question of interest to everyone following the fate of Cosmos-1900. Are nuclear reactors needed in space? The answer to this is unequivocal—yes, they are needed, and on craft with different purposes.

So as not to speak in general, let us take the example of Cosmos-1900. One of its chief purposes is to monitor the state of the world ocean. This requires the satellite's constant, precise orientation and, thus, great power consumption. Power could be obtained only with solar batteries so large as to hamper the craft's stabilization and orientation. And so a nuclear reactor was chosen. This is in full accordance with international safety norms.

Have they been adopted? Many people probably still remember the incident when radioactive fragments of the reactor core and vessel were discovered when Cosmos-954 came down on Canadian territory. Additional safety measures have been taken since then, and in a similar case involving Cosmos-1402 the reactor core burned up entirely in the atmosphere. It is clearly worth describing in greater detail the safety systems that operate on the Cosmos-1900 satellite.

One of them is designed to put the reactor power plant into a high orbit (over 800 km), and another to disperse (scatter) reactor materials.

The first, basic system ensures the reactor's burial in space—which is more effective than burial of radioactive materials under terrestrial conditions. The second, backup system ensures the destruction of the reactor structure and the reduction of radioactive materials to finely divided particles, whose fallout on the earth's surface poses no danger to the population.

The system for destroying the reactor structure and dispersing radioactive materials can be based on aerodynamic heating and destruction on descent in the upper layers of the atmosphere. This system requires the reactor and the power plant to be planned with due regard for the special actuating mechanisms, devices, and auxiliary units which split up and destroy the reactor structure into its constituent elements, whose form, dimensions, and mass are ensured by the optimum aerodynamic heating of these elements and their dispersal with subsequent scattering in the atmosphere.

The system for removing the reactor power plant and the system for splitting up the reactor structure into its constituent elements have command and actuating devices that perform a considerable number of operations. The reliability of these command and actuating devices is quite high, but the possibility of failures cannot be ruled out entirely. This is connected with the fact that the operations performed by the devices must be carried out in all likely emergencies arising during operation on board the satellite—which increases the systems' complexity and reduces the overall reliability index.

The most radical solution to the problem of radiation safety is to increase the height of the working orbit for satellites with reactor power plants. The height of a radiation-safe working orbit is determined for each specific reactor power plant by the necessary time of the satellite's passive existence depending on the reactor's thermal yield and the operational life.

Experience of developing and operating such systems on certain satellites in the Cosmos series has shown that the system for removing the reactor power plant and also the system for splitting up the reactor structure and aerodynamically dispersing the reactor materials correspond to the conditions for ensuring safety approved by decisions of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

There are similar systems for ensuring radiation safety on the Cosmos-1900 satellite. It is now continuing its orbital flight at heights of less than 200 km after the failure of the satellite's radio control link.

The nuclear power plant on board Cosmos-1900 contains a small fast breeder reactor, whose core consists of a uranium-molybdenum alloy with a 30 kg charge housed in 37 fuel elements. The systems for ensuring radiation safety on the satellite are still operating efficiently and fulfilling their functions during the satellite's descent.

The system for putting the reactor power plant into a high orbit will be engaged when the satellite flies at a height range of 200-100 km if deviations from prescribed operation arise in the stabilization and electrical power systems, which are functioning normally at present.

When flying at a height less than 100 km, the system for putting the nuclear power plant into a high orbit will first be engaged automatically and, in the event of its failure, the system for separating the core from the reactor vessel will also operate automatically—which will ensure the fuel's full aerodynamic dispersal into finely divided particles whose fallout poses no danger to the health of the population in the corresponding territory.

PRAVDA Reports Maiden Flight of IL-96

PM2909143388 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 29 September in its Second Edition carries on pages 1 and 6 under the headline "IL-96 Airborne" a 1,000-word report by A. Gorokhov and V. Izgarshev on the maiden flight of the IL-96 widebody. The airliner, whose design team was headed by Academician Genrikh Vasilyevich Novozhilov, is planned to enter service in 1990 after 2 years of flight tests. Its four Solovyev turbofans, each producing 16 tonnes of thrust, will carry up to 300 passengers between 9,000 and 11,000 km nonstop. The winglet-equipped IL-96's fuselage is the same diameter as that of the IL-86 but 5 meters shorter and comes with a new wing for improved aerodynamics. The authors state that half of the aircraft's instruments are brand new. After its 43-minute maiden flight the pilot reported that "all our calculations have been completely justified." The authors conclude by stating that another two prototypes are under construction in Voronezh.